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# CONTENTS

# PREFACE

The essays contained in this book constitute part of General English and are meant for the candidates to IAS and other such competitive examinations. Attempt is made to cover almost all the topics that are important for these examinations so that the readers and prospective candidates could understand the national problems and broader objectives of the State Policy. It is a must for all intending candidates to these examinations as also for those who constitute cadre of Administrative Service to know this much at least in general terms.

In all these essays there is an approach to the problems within scope of the respective topics, interpretation of the State or national policy and the related national and international values.

[illegible] as 'Objective Essays' and should be viewed as such by all concerned.

On my part, I believe, the readers will find it useful in preparing for and getting through the intended examinations.

Wishing best of luck :

—Author

# CASE FOR CHANGEOVER TO PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM IN INDIA

India is [illegible]
been running [illegible]
span of thirty [illegible]
we have experienced, in continuance, 28 years of the Parliamentary life. Our first General Electio[illegible]
Lok Sabha. Recently, we have [illegible]
these twenty eight years of ou[illegible]
has witnessed a 'double debacle' [illegible]
successively. First, when in 1977 we had elected Sixth Lok Sabha after 19 months of emergency and Congress (I) regime was outvoted. The alternate government was formed in name of Janata Party which was more an alliance of five opposition parties, rather than a single [illegible]

[illegible]

no debacle by itself in a Parliamentary System. But it is called as such [illegible]

[illegible]

by [illegible]

[illegible]

based ruling party which could help government in formulation of an effective policy and its implementation on one hand, maintaining mass-contact and exercising vigilance over the administrative machinery on the other. This is the plight of the ruling party and the situation on side of opposition is worse than that. None of

the opposition parties is mass-based organisationally. These are all on paper. Only one of the party—a former constituent of the grand alliance which is categorised as cadre—based and hard disciplined party among the rightists is an exception which is far far away from [illegible]

In this sort of vacuum in the political arena of the country [illegible] ruling party but they are confound and lacking any initiative to improve the situation in context of the party and government both. While strangely enough there is no serious thinking about the situation in other political circles also. Against this background and *analysis of the situation there is an intense speculation* in all political quarters that a changeover to Presidential system of gove[illegible] and [illegible]

This speculation has assumed prominence after a recently held Lawyers' Conference in which there have been deliberations over [illegible] opriety of this 'Sympo- [illegible] the particular topic in the said conference it has successfully proved to be a very strong *feeler to provoke thinking over the subject.* Apart from the fact that there is vehement denial on part of the government in the forms of statements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Union Law Minister Mr. Shiv Shankar the speculation is going on and there is an imperative need of thinking over it from accademic point of view.

First thing to be noted is that our existing system now about 30 years old has not proved a failure. It is the failure of the national [illegible] or new, on proper parliamentary lines and provide mass base to them. *It is easier, only there is need of thinking* and initiative on part of the leadership of all the national parties.

Secondly, it should be very clear that even Presidential form of government in such a country like India is, cannot function

without Nationa' [illegible]

But in such a socio-political order where the 'capital' still rules and the 'vested interest' is all powerful to manipulate in political spheres there is danger of their grip over the economy as well as [illegible]

Th [illegible]
present [illegible]
centrate [illegible]
the rest goes to states.

Lastly, the [illegible]

[illegible]

and masses have an attach-
ise in the Presidential form o-
government. The spurious and bogus parties that have no ideof logical tinge and are not mass-based may automatically expropriate from the political arena if the ruling party takes initiative in improving itself and the rest follow the suit. There is an imperative need of thinking over it and according a priority treatment to it.

# IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Iran-Iraq war is certainly a complicated issue of the regional character and it has upset the traditional calculations regarding their respective potentialities, chances of its escalation and the trend of alignment in the Middle east. The study of the issue involves micro-approach of the strategy of the Big Powers *i.e.*, United States, and the Soviet Union, closely related to it is the current trend of the Arab countries related to the issue. From international point of view Indian policy and attitude are also of repercussive nature and especially Indian observers are required to 'assess' afresh the whole of the situation.

Iran, as we know, has dispensed with the Monarchy of late and has resorted to establish an Islamic order of the *Shia* Version. The nation has never been religious minded and there has never been any current for establishing any religious order before or after overthrowing of monarchy there. But it was under the exceptional circumstances that a popular movement in Iran had come out spontaneously to overthrow Reza Shah Pehlvi's regime without any centralised leadership and organised revolutionary process. That is the main reason for ascending Mohd. Ayatullah Khomeni to assume the 'reign' and proclaim a Revolutionary Shia Islamic State of Iran. The main factor for favour of Ayatullah Khomeni was absence of the Tudeh element from the 'fervour of revolution' who had been physically liquidated by the 'American soldier'—Reza Shah Pehlvi. So when Mr. Khomeni was installed successfully he decreed to the effect that Iran is a Shia Islamic Republic and it would help to overthrow monarchy and Sheikhdoms throughout the Muslim world. Another thing that he did was to execute and expropriate in general all the former pro-Shah Generals and civilians and in particular the suspected 'pro-Tudeh' elements. Under the situation he drew Soviet assistance on one hand and dispensed with multi-national hold on the other decrying US imperialism. It was because he was compelled to take that line of action to maintain and mould the popular anti-Shah and anti-US sentiments of that nation. He managed it all right upto the extent of home-front but the Arab monarchs and Sheikhs were resented over his proclamations. Iraq that had dispensed with monarchy long ahead of Iran had initially taken to a Socialist Republic but had a territorial claim in the Shatt el-Arab Region which was on principles recognised by late Reza Shah Pehlvi at Algiers conference but was not implemented by him. The 'region' under claim is thickly populated by Arabs, especially of Iraqi origin, who were settled there as the 'labour force' in industry and oil field from Dezful, Khorramshehr to Abadan. Beside this territorial claim there are other points to be noted in this context. The main is refusal of Khomeni to recognise and implement decision of the Shah who had been

overthrown in Iran and to the worse to instigate Kurd tribals of Iraq to secede from that country, While Mustafa Barzani, the leader of Iraqi Kurd Community had fled to Iran and was granted political asylum there. Now when Khomeni took to deny Iraqi claim he in vain threatened to instigate Kurds of Iraq to revolt against that country. Iraqi government of Saddam Hussain took it meaningfully and on top-priority basis solved Kurd problem by granting an autonomous status to them. It may be reminded here that the Kurd tribals are spread in a belt stretching along Iraq-Iran and Turkey. So when Khomeni and his followers took anti-Iraqi stand and renewed their bid to abet Kurds of Iraq persistently Saddam Husain's regime of Iraq undertook to teach a lesson to Shia Islamic regime of Khomeni in Iran and resorted to war.

The war in the beginning was all out and intensive. Both the countries were equally ferocious and heavily bombarded one anothers targets in the two countries. Tehran and Baghdad were hit equally. Iraq unilaterally offered and observed cease-fire within fortnight of declaration of war but Iran rejected it. UN quarters pursued Iran in vain to come to negotiations with Iraq, Islamic conference, led by Pakistan made a desperate bid to 'negotiate peace' between the two but Iran rejected it outrightly. Of late there have been Irani moves to India to exert its influence as leader of non-aligned movement and it has demonstrated Irani confidence in the Indian leadership. But India has to assess the situation as a whole and judge advisibility and extent of any peace move on its part as leader of non-alignment.

The main points in this connection are that the war that has been all out and intensive is being waged with the traditional arms only on both sides. None of the two has used sophisticated weaponry that they possess. The calculation and estimates of the observers of war have failed completely as their main contention was that it could last hardly to 30 days in view of their military capabilities and war potentialities. Iraqi assault is intensively concentrated to [illegible] Abadan—the region of Irani oil [illegible] oncentrating their attack to the [illegible] called as 'Arabistan' by Iraq and other Arabian countries. The Arab countries, especially, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, Yeman Socialist Republic and Egypt etc. are in favour of Iraq. Syria was an exception and had declared open support for Iran in case of escalation of war (due to its previou[illegible] ied from any gesture so fa[illegible] her part further under the [illegible] have refrained from [illegible] attempt to [illegible] its Naval [illegible] 1. Though

there had grown dissension between Iraq and Soviet Union before this development but there has been offer of Russian military supply to the former *via* Jordan from Yemen. There are certain exclusive reports of such supply from the source. Iran which has American Arms has not made any move because of an apparent controversy over US hostages. There must have been some underhand moves between Iran and US but due to Presidential election and defeat of Mr. Jimmy Carter in the current elections it has all remained under the surface.

The region is very sensitive and a new alignment is going on throughout which may be on some new pattern. The current trend is that almost all the Arab countries are supporting Iraq irrespective of their international affiliations. US has got a second jolt in the region successively. First in case of Afghanistan where they have lagged behind and failed in taking any initiative to counteract Russian strategy and involvement. The second jolt is the Iran-Iraq war where Arab countries' stand and Russian strategy in form of military supply offer to that country has come against frustrating hopes of imperialist bloc who were assessing the situation wrongly in view of apparent dissension between Iraq and Soviet Union.

Western quarters have also been frustrated in their conclusion that intensive war between the two countries would necessitate military supply and Iran would seek American help because it has got American Arms and they will be able to have a say because in view of dissension between Iraq and Soviet Union. Iraq will not get Russian supply and shall be compelled to change pattern of its alliance with the big power.

In this context it is quite clear that India cannot take any hasty step to make any move and it has to see very soberly the Arab trend with whom she has fast friendship. Indo-Soviet relations are also to cause effects on making and non-making of any move on part of India.

Though currently we cannot say precisely into the matter but it is common sense that in the long run non-aligned countries have to come out with specific peace proposals but not before US and Soviet Union are able to take any specific stand into the matter. In [illegible] their superiority over the western [illegible] As reaction on part of US reinfor- [illegible] of their Naval contingents has been effected apparently in a bid to prepare for any massive action whenever deemed necessary. We are more concerned with this development than the war itself and we shall not be able to remain isolated from it, in case Iran-Iraq war is escalated.

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# SLV-III—INDIA'S NEW STRIDE IN SPACE

July 18, 1980 is a memorable date in the history of this country's progress. On this auspicious day India won recognition of a 'Space Nation' due to the success of the mission of SLV-III in launching 'Rohini', the third Indian satellite, into the space from Shri Harikota—a place near Madras. It is the first successful attempt that was made by Indian Scientists to send into orbit an Indian made satellite with an Indian made rocket and from the Indian soil. Otherwise as we already know 'Rohini' is the third Indian satellite in the space. In context of this fateful event the main thing to be remembered is that it is SLV-III that has brought in the recognition of this country as the 6th Space Nation of the world, and we feel pleasure over it on more than one account that is very much heartening and impressive. It is also significant to note that the success of SLV-III counts much in terms of strategic values and has qualitatively enhanced our potentialities in the spheres of defence as well a [illegible] now build Intermediate Ra [illegible] with other space nations [illegible] Union, China and Japan [illegible] istrai- [illegible]

The whole affair is therefore required to be understood appropriately without which we ourselves cannot assess the situation fully. Nor we can appreciate fully the endeavours and achievements of our Scientists who have been toiling unstakingly round the clock not for their respective personal benefits but for sake of country's progress and enhance its honour. Their patriotism is undisputably non-controversial at the national and international levels and all of the rest, if they are 'genuine patriots', should certainly envy the privilege and position of these Indian Scientists.

The first thing related to the affair, to begin with an assessment, is the technical aspect of 'Rohini' and the SLV-III and the matters '*inter alia*' in respect thereof. On technical side the main points of distinction are the weight of Rohini, its parts and components. As given to know by spokesman of ISRO (Indian Space Research Organisation), Rohini has a weight of 35 kg only and as such it is the lightest of the satellites sent into space by any nation of the [illegible] reminded that the Russian S[illegible] nto space had one and a half times of the weight that the Rohini has. So far, the

parts and components of the satellite are concerned, their number [illegible]

[illegible]

The designing and fitting of the Rohini was done by the Scientists-engineers of the ISRO themselves.

The SLV-III was a four stage rocket made by the Indian Scientists of their own. It weighed 17 tonnes and had a length of 22 metres with a diameter of 1 metre. The main item of the rocket is fuel which was developed by ISRO experts and it was solid. As it is given to know, the overall cost of this venture is Rs. 22 crores and the experimental cost of the launching is stated to be Rs. one crore only. It may be noted that this cost in the experimental stage is lower than any of the other countries of the world that have so far succeeded in space exploration.

There is no doubt at the same time that the country like India whose resources are meagre should have been very hard-pressed in carrying on this work, especially when the normal methods and means of finan[illegible] to like in other spheres of [illegible] no mean it is an ordinary thing o[illegible] [illegible]n-tented with whatever available for spending over the heads in respect thereof.

[illegible] [illegible]ould [illegible] ere. [illegible] and as pointed out we have been receiving technological collaboration [illegible]t. So far fuel to be used in the [illegible] d it is also being developed by [illegible]

[illegible]

The progress made in the field of Nuclear developments and Space Research owes much to the policy pursued in the respective

spheres. The real credit goes to the framers of an objective policy of the country and its strict adherence on part of the government. It were the tenets of our foreign policy based on neutralism and non-alignment that were extended to the respective spheres of nuclear and space research and practised upon without lapse, in pursuit of the knowledge in the countries of west as well as in Soviet Union and their cooperation. We were fortunate in this respect to succeed in our endeavours because of our honesty and the *confidence that was maintained unshakably in the rival power blocs.* [illegible] e and they have been [illegible] s been collaborating [illegible] developing an engine *for our future launching with their cooperation.*

Finally, it is also very important to note that our national policy in the respective spheres of Nuclear and space Research will continue without any change of objectives. As Prime Minister Mrs Ind[illegible] the [illegible] our [illegible] pla[illegible] and defence will not change inspite of our growth of potentialities and new strides and achievements. At the same time it is but natural that in this decade the pace of development in spheres of nuclear and space research would accelerate faster.

# 1. ASSAM AGITATION OVER FOREIGNERS ISSUE

Trouble in Assam has been brewing since a long but the path of agitation has been resorted to by the people in November 1979 over the issue of foreigners in the state.

It was in November when All Assam Students Union (AASU

[illegible]

... tine ... sam ... heir ... ved ... way from the meeting and their stand was that nothing short of deportation of foreigners would satisfy them. On December 3,

[illegible]

... over an issue which could not be dismissed as fantastic or vested interest, in so far as its political intrisic value is concerned.

After the elections to Lok Sabha were over, *Mrs. Indira Gandhi* had returned to power in the Centre, *it was the first and foremost* national problem which was to be handled by her government. Represe[illegible] Parisha[illegible] ment a[illegible] agreem[illegible] people [illegible]

(i) *Any election in the state will be held only after the names* of the foreigners have been removed from the electoral rolls.

(ii) Steps would be taken to detect and deport foreign nationals.

(iii) Inclusion of foreign names in the electoral lists in future will be made impossible.

(iv) Full protection of the Indian borders will be made.

(v) Identity cards for voters in the state will be issued.

Still the situation of Assam remained unsolved [illegible] ain [illegible] and C[illegible]

In April the issue was Sought to be resolved but the attitude of the representatives of Assam Students Union and *Gana Sangram* Parishad remained unchanged [illegible]

are in sufferings due to backwardness and unemployment in the state.

Though the issue of foreigners rose to this height on occasion of finalization of electoral lists for the 7th Lok Sabha but there are certain root causes behind Assam stir which can never be overlooked in any study of the problems.

We [illegible] fertility [illegible] land.

There is fragmentation of holdings which are uneconomical. The yield per acre is very low. The income per capita is very low. In general, there is greater pressure on agricultural land in Assam than it is anywhere else in India.

[illegible] in urb [illegible] percen [illegible] indust [illegible] owned [illegible] in such places.

Assam has been receiving 75 per cent from centre for State's developmental plan. But they contend that 80 per cent of their income [illegible] the [illegible] ores [illegible]

Similarly [illegible] *i.e.*,—13 million tonnes [illegible] tate government gets a r [illegible]

It is argued by Assamese leaders that their state is not treated evenly *vis-a-vis* other states of the country. For instance, out of over 15,000 large industrial units in India there are just 21 units located in Assam. [illegible] its capital in [illegible] d in Assam. [illegible] nvested small industries throughout country but Assam accounts just for Rs 15 crores only.

We have seen the grievances of Assamese people are deep rooted and cannot be minimised. But now when a typical situation has developed in Assam which is assuming [illegible] s [illegible] r [illegible] back.

There is a sort of impasse in respect of solution of Assam problem at present. It is because of the controversy of base year—on part of agitators 1951 and on part of government 1971. We have already noted reason for the both. We also observe that the agitation is not violent. It is still peaceful, beside exceptional mishaps in different places causing use of force by the police.

We have already noted the fact that Assam was declared disturbed area by the Governor of Assam on April 5 aimed at bringing under control of the Army under Special Powers Act which was challenged in Gauhati High Court. Justice B.L. Hansaria has restrained the proclamations to that effect on April 7 by passing order on an application by an engineering graduate Mr. Inderjit Bahuah.

The agitation is going on in the meanwhile.

But attempts are being made on part of central leaders to come to an understanding with the student leaders and their comrades. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and leaders of the agitators have kept open the doors of negotiations for each other. Negotiation are the only way out to tackle the situation and there seems to be a time lag in solution of the problem. There are many things more, which we hear in context of Asssam agitation but they are invisible. For instance the foreign hand behind present developments in Assam. It may be so under the type of situation but only in ventilating it—not in origination of the same. The grievances are real and the situation has worsened due to neglect or lack of approach on part of the government and administration.

We have no reason to be disgusted and may hope that our national leadership will be able to deal with it satisfactorily, sooner or later.

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## 2. AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

Afghanistan that has been enjoying a status of buffer state since long, surrounded by Soviet Union, China, Iran and Pakistan has now become a live issue of strife for supremacy of big powers. At present there is presence of Russian Army, 50000 strong, backed by heavy artillery stated to have entered into that country on request of the Afghan government and under a treaty of 'mutual friendship and co-operation'. This agreement is said to have been signed in December 1978 by President Noor Mohammad Terakki, valid for 20 years. It had coincided with the replacement of President Hafeez Amin's government in December 1979 by Babrak Karmal in a bloody coup. The issue of Afghanistan has many

aspects to be studied and understood, including presence of Russian Army there and its justification if any, the rebellion of Afghan people and roles of Pakistan and US—their attempts to make it an issue of *jehad* (the holy war of believers of Islam against non-believers). It is very interesting to note at the same time in context of Afghan issue against a background of successive coups and fast pace of development in the country that there have been two rounds of the so-called Islamic conferences in Islamabad in this connection.

The policy pursued by the Indian government into the matter is very significant and repercussive and it is an essential part of the study of Afghan problem for all those who want to understand the complex of situation as a whole and as part of the tenets of Indian foreign policy constituted by Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and enlarged and applied by Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi.

In order to have a keen insight into the affairs of Afghanistan let us trace the pace of developments in that country from the year 1973 when monarchy was overthrown in a coup led by Sardar Daoud Khan, the then Premier to King Zahir Shah. After five years this government was toppled in an army coup led by a group sympathetic to Peoples Democratic Party—a combination of 'Khalq' and 'Parcham' groups—both communist dominated. The Peoples Democratic Party was dominated by Khalq group. Hence, Noor Mohammad Terakki, a veteran Afghan journalist and General Secretary of the Khalq Democratic Party was named as President of Afghanistan and Hafeezullah Amin as Prime Minister.

Terakki, renamed the State as Peoples Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and actively pursued a programme of 'scientific Socialism' laying emphasis on literacy and land reforms. The scope of reforms covered transfer of judicial powers from 'mullahs' to the courts of law, abolition of dowry system, ban on bonded agricultural labour and abolition of rural indebtedness etc. A programme of modernization of agriculture was also taken up and cooperative farming schemes were introduced. This programme, though beneficial for more than 90% of the people, had united two classes of vested interest against the scientific socialists (the government) to unleash war upon them. The 'mullahs' abetted the simple conservative Afghans by saying 'now the women shall be taught by men'. For traditional and conservative muslims it was a good trick on part of mullahs to turn them against the government. It has provided a good cover at the same time to the rebels in name of Islam. In this manner the rebellion against government was spread in that country and when dealt with properly people were pursuaded to go to Pakistan and organize themselves in armed guerillas to liberate Afghanistan from the rule of 'Communist non-believers'.

The people had fled the country in large number to Pakistan and were given a rousing welcome extending all facilities to them.

There were some differences of opinion also regarding governmental policies of radical socio-economic reforms. Attitude of Terakki was very hard towards comrades of reformist mentality and he sacked a number of them without any hesitation. In Badakhshan province however, Shola-e-Inqilab party had its pockets and fed-upon Chinese material and arms had been very active in arm upsurge and Radio Pakistan had taken up broadcasting of exaggerated eventualities about it which was described by radio Kabul as attempts of counter revolutionaries backed by Pakistan and US-Chine chique.

Terakki under this situation that had developed within six months of his taking up as President went to Moscow in December 1978. He signed a treaty of 'Mutual friendship and cooperation'. It had followed a number of agreements of economic technical and military nature between the two. Russian economic aid to Afghanistan was of the value of 900 crores About 2000 Russian advisers were already there in that country. Anti-Russian sentiments were roused in Afghanistan and it had culminated into massacre of 16 Russians by rebel Afghans in Herat. In Jalabad Afghan Army unit had revolted, murdering 2 Russian advisers.

In this manner anti-Russian sentiments were spread in Afghanistan and it had followed a Russian warning to Pakistan against use of latters' territory for subversion in Afghanistan. Russian disclosures included working of 12 Afghan refugee camps in that country and arming and training of 5000 strong bands of saboteurs. They charged China, America and Egypt for supervision of this training in bordering areas on side of Pakistan.

It is quite clear now that anti-Russian sentiments in Afghanistan were spreading like fire and Pakistani territory was being used for shelter and training of rebels with the assistance of US, China. And all this was being carried out will-fully as a conspiracy against Afghan government by active cooperation of Pakistan's military regime, led by General Zia-ul-Haq.

In September 1979, on eve of meeting of Revolutionary Council in Kabul (14.9.79) Terakki was shot at and Ameen replaced him. The background of this incident might well be found in the inner party struggle of the People Democratic Party in which Mr. Ameen had grown stronger gradually.

This inner party struggle had taken a new turn when on December 27, 1979 Hafeez Ameen was toppled in a bloody coup and replaced by Babrak Karmal who was leader of the Parcham

faction of the PDP and a former Vice-president and vice-premier (Dy. P.M.)

The reason of toppling the regime of Hafeez Amin and his execution were given by US analysts as strain of relations with Soviet Union due to his failure in suppression of rebellion in the country. It is also argued that Russians too had taken part in engineering the plot and their troops involved in the eventuality. It could be taken as factually true insofar as it has followed by the pouring in of Russian Army in larger number with heavy artillery and heavy tanks. Their figure given in a resolution of UN General Assembly on Jan. 14, 1980 is 50,000.

After Babrak Karmal's taking over the Russian Army has entered the country in larger and sufficient number and they have been able to handle law and order situation perfectly well and satisfactorily. In the initial stages there have been rumours about a big summer onslaught against Russian Army by the rebels but it had happened to quite contrary in the reverse direction. Rebellion within boundaries of Afghanistan now seems to have been quelled by comrades.

Now, in place of such rumours the demand for withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan is being pressed. There has been recently an Islamic Conference in Islamabad at the foreign ministers level over the issue in which demand for withdrawal of Russian Army was pressed by 'Islamic Countries'. A government in exile, by Afghan rebels was also announced as the highlight of the show and slogans of *jehad* were raised. Foreign Ministers of 40 Islamic countries had called for a Collective Security Plan.

But it has failed to affect the trend. of developments in Afghanistan. There are various proposals from different countries into the matter. But the attitude of the Babrak government and Soviet Union is rigid to the extent that Russian Army would withdraw only when foreign intervention into Afghanistan's internal affairs would end and normalcy would be restored.

Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan is motivated with seeking US arms and money and it is becauses he has no other alternative before her to continue military rule except by keeping alive a favourable situation for the same. Otherwise, everybody known that Pakistan has never been friendly to Afghanistan previously.

The US and China are against spread of Russian influence in the area and consolidation of their position in Afghanistan. After loss of Iran US has got no other base and Pakistan's situation is not satisfactory inspite of Bhutto's extermination and

suppression of peoples democratic party there by the military regime.

Indian policy into the matter is relevant to the effect that presence of Russian Army on Afghan territory is not desirable but it is not an occupation army. It is called by the government of Afghanistan to help suppress a rebellion influenced by Pakistan, US and China. They are trying to topple Afghan government and sending rebels armed and trained in Pakistan. Unless, this phenomenon ceases to operate normalcy cannot be restored. As soon as it has happened Russian Army would turn out of that country. Hence, we should try to restore normalcy as soon as possible.

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## 3. ZIMBABWE EMERGES AS A FREE NATION

Zimbabwe has emerged as a free nation on 17th of April, 1980 putting an end to 90 years of colonial rule. This independence has preceded with 15 years of Racial Violence in Rhodesia which had erupted in 1965, when Ian Smith had unilaterally declared independence of whites asserting supremacy of the race and its determination not to allow black Africans their legitimate right to rule themselves. There were UN sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa on account of aparthied and repression of the black African population by white colonialists. But having no other choice, the African people of this country had to resort to arms to defend themselves. As a result there has been a fifteen years period of bloody clashes in which 20000 lives have perished and lakhs of people rendered homeless. This anarchy that has been ruling former Rhodesia now called Zimbabwe has been a period of savagery and barberism. White rulers have never been in a mood to agree to allow native people share independence because their neighbours South African rulers, also whites, have been helping them morally and materially against black African Patriotic guerillas. The two would have never come to compromise had Britain not arranged as such.

It should be remembered that transfer of power to black Africans in the present form has preceded Lancaster House Conference at London which lasted more than three and a half months in which constitution of Zimbabwe was finalised and according to which election were held throughout country in February this year. The transfer of power to Zimbabweans was effected on 17th of April 1980 to the leader of Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union, Mr. Mugabe who have secured 57 out 80 seats in the Parliament while 20 seats are reserved for whites. Mr. Ian Smith's party has won all these 20 seats.

There was a very grand ceremonial occasion in Salisbury, the capital of Zimbabwe in which all the commonwealth countries as

well as other countries of the world were represented by their Head of States of governmental leaders on 17th April 1980.

India was represented by an Indian delegation headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister. Only Mr. Ian Smith, the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia was absent which was very much pinching for all concerned as he was leader of the party that has secured all the 20 seats reserved for whites in a parliamentary house of 100.

In presence of a distinguished representative gathering of international character the Union Jack, which was hoisted 90 years before in the same place, was lowered for the last time to effect an end to the last of British African colonies and a multi-coloured flag of independent Zimbabwe was hoisted in its place by Lord Christopher Soames, British Governor-General of Rhodesia. Reverend Canaan Banana was sworn-in as President of the Republic by Lord Soames.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe is the leader of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) whose party has secured 57 seats out of 80 for Africans in a house of 100 members. Next is the Patriotic Front of Mr. Joshua Nkomo with 20 seats and the third African patriotic council with 3 seats in the house is led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who has been transitional incharge of administration in Rhodesia. As already mentioned 20 seats have been reserved for whites. According to the census available there are 2,30,000 whites in Zimbabwe who have elected above number of their representatives to the Parliament while 80 African representatives are elected by 30 lakh native Black Africans.

Constitutionally, in the norms of any democratic set-up Mr. Robert Mugabe could form Single Party Government as he enjoyed absolute majority in the House. But he has preferred a coalition government instead. It is very important to note that Mr. Mugabe has definitely displayed his large heartedness and true essence of democratic spirit in this manner that he has chosen his government to be coalition of not only African parties but has also included 2 white ministers in a council of ministers of 23. The portfolio of Home Affairs has been given to Mr. Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front Party (having strength of 20). There was no compulsion for doing so on part of Mr. Mugabe and in case he would have taken to the normal course of practice of a democratic set-up he would have made all other parties to play the role of opposition as watchdogs of democracy.

The wisdom of Mr. Mugabe in offering two Ministerial posts to whites who have been a vowed enemies of the African people and responsible for savagery and barberism in the country for about

15 years is remarkably statesman-like and points to the fact that he [illegible] liberal and farsighted politician than *his* predecessors who [illegible] in their liberation struggle. It [illegible] appointment of General Peter Wallis, who had been commander of white army responsible for terrorism *against African people during* last 15 *years, to a high office of the* Zimbabwe Army.

The geographical location of the newly independent country is of a land locked by five countries. Mozambique to the east, Botswana to the west, South Africa to the south, Zambia and Malawi to the north. *Out of these* countries *South Africa is country ruled by* white minority and [illegible] against African people who [illegible] spheres. *The* ruler, [illegible] of Mr. Ian Smith [illegible] of racial superiority [illegible]

The problems of Zimbabwe are very difficult and would take quite some time in getting through. The foremost problem is that of disarming African guerillas and promotion of an *army of the* country. *It is* very difficult in practice because all of the guerillas may not reconcile readily to the proposition, at least without being convinced that they should do it first without waiting for *surrender* of arms by whites. On the other hand, it may also doubted whether whites would agree to surrender arms without seeking any assurance [illegible] satisfaction. *Moreover,* [illegible] of coopera- [illegible] anything has been heard of from their side [illegible] matter.

Secondly, the economic problems of Zimbabwe are that of a [illegible] upon three things *i.e.*, an [illegible] and cooperation *from* [illegible] government.

*Another* problem which is administrative as well as of *socio-*economic nature is resettlement of the people who are political sufferers of the national movement era, especially of the past 15 years.

As we already know *it*, the administration is predominently white because of the fact that Africans have been *isolated from* it as a matter of policy and colonial rule, *it is* not an easy affair to control the situation in this respect and make it reliable for the new government to help solve the problems.

Though nothing can be predicted precisely into the related affairs and the trends are yet to emerge in various respects, but Mr. Mugabe can be relied to some extent to brave the situation with his sober and mature attitude as reflected in his early behaviour.

His statesmanly approach to Zimbabwe problems has won for him the recognition throughout world and he is held in esteem in east as well as in west. There is every likelihood of receiving cooperation from both the blocs and also from the non-aligned countries like India in economic and technical fields without any hesitation.

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## 4. INDIA'S PLACE IN NUCLEAR AND SPACE RESEARCH

The modern era we are living in is of the spread of knowledge of the laws of nature and its objects and there is no reservation or privilege of any nation in this respect. As students of science we learn without lapse of time about any achievement in the field of science in any corner of the world. But the technology evolved and applied in any respect is a matter subject to experimentation and resources of a particular nation. Hence, in context of our advancement in nuclear and space research, it is the availability of resources, indigenous as well as foreign, on which the pace of advancement depends. We do not lack the knowledge or ability to utilize the latter but the resources required for the purpose are lacking. There is another aspect of the problem connected with it and it is the cooperation of other nations which are more advanced than we are. As a non-aligned and neutral country our relations with Soviet Union are friendlier and uncontroversial and we are on 'not unfriendly' terms with US and other countries of the west and have been receiving cooperation in space research and nuclear development from them. For instance in Atomic Power Station of Tarapur we have been receiving enriched uranium from US in the past under a bilateral agreement of 1963 which bars India from reprocessing of the spent fuel without approval of the US government. But due to various political reasons and other phenomena, the enriched uranium is not being supplied by that government since 1975. Hence, it is a problem with us to run Tarapur Atomic Energy Plant as whence to get the fuel ?

Beside this there is one thing more important to note in context of Indian advancement in nuclear and space research India's stress has been on use of atomic energy (nuclear power) for peaceful developments which counts much as it is the guideline of Indian policy into the respective field.

The nuclear energy for non-explosive purposes is used in power generation which is main source for expansion of giant industries in the country. It is necessary in view of exhausting resources of coal and limited resources of oil within our country.

At present we are planning to construct 4 nuclear power plants in India. Pratap Sagar Project is 2-stage project, other are Kalapakkam, and Narora. They were originally planned to be constructed with a cost of Rs. 430 crores. But due to price-rise of the indigenous material and the imported one that will be used in raising them, Government of India have revaluated its cost and a 60 per cent rise has been sanctioned thus enhancing it to Rs. 700 crore.

The atomic reactor at Tarapur whose functioning has been in jeopardy since last 4/5 years due to stoppage of enriched uranium supplied by US has been very disheartening for the Indian scientists and the government. The fuel sent by US was used to be fabricated into rods at a factory in Hyderabad which has been closed down by the government in absence of supply from that country under the treaty of 1963. There is a huddle in the way due to various reasons of technical nature. For instance, a non-proliferation treaty at the international level has been signed last year according to which such fuel cannot be supplied to any other country by the US government if the latter is not a signatory, like India, to it. Secondly, there is a very hard fast rule in US about the supply of this fuel that the export from US would be allowed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) which is a statutory institution there. Indian application to NRC by President Carter has been returned with the adverse remark based on above two reasons. Now, the President can use his executive authority in shipment of the fuel. But in that case also a period of 60 days will have to be provided to US congress by the former to enable congress take its decision either by expressing satisfaction with the Presidential plea or overrule it all together. On May 16, 1980 NRC has returned the application to the President. In the meanwhile US government has been seeking assurance of the Indian government that it won't use the material or its resources for explosive purposes. Another point being raised is that India has neither signed the non-proliferation treaty nor has agreed to any international inspection of its devices and plants etc which is a pre-condition in such supplies by the US after ratification of the treaty by the US congress. On part of India in this respect it has been said that in national interest we may take a decision to experimentation of a nuclear explosion, like the device that we had detonated underground in 1974 which has been a source of irritation to US and western countries.

Vis-a-vis, this Government of India has made it clear that we have been receiving Soviet heavy water for use as fuel in Nuclear

power plants of the country without full scope safeguards, as being insisted upon by US and other countries. This is a jolt to US tactics and an alternate to our source of supply which has been stranding our progress in this respect. So by and by, we are coming in a better position regarding availability of the fuel for nuclear power projects. Presently, besides the 4 power plants mentioned afore, we have planned 3 more nuclear projects constructions recently and besides other states venues are being selected in Gujarat and the matter shall be finalized very shortly.

India is capable of producing nuclear explosives and armament independently just as is evident from the explosive underground test of 1974 b[illegible] of the polic[illegible] arms to Pakis[illegible] a compulsion to drift from its original policy and in order to save its national interest take to that type of experimentation if there is no other alternative left to it beside that.

Side by side with nuclear development India has been making steady progress in space research also. Five years earlier, (on the 19th April 1975) we had launched *Aryabhata* into the space and being experimental it was expected to remain in orbit for six months. But [illegible] As our initial [illegible] e 1979 Indian [illegible] research space [illegible] due to corona [illegible] f the cameras has been reactivated again. Its microwave imagining system is providing very useful data. In September this year we are going to launch a communication Satellite with the help of French rocket. There is yet another satellite INSAT which is being built by US for India and shall be sent into space after 2 years to obtain photographs for Delhi Meteorological establishment and shall be helpful in forecast of the floods and storms.

In the meanwhile Indian government has sanctioned Rs.1.40 crores for the second earth [illegible] will be launched next year. [illegible]

Beside this there are other developments taking place in the sphere of space research.

The main thing is that since our resources are not as strong as of wealthier countries we have a limited finance for the

purpose. It is the main reason for lower pace of development in this field in India. Still, whatever, we have been able to do in remarkable in view of our limitation and as soon as we overcome our difficulties we can make startling progress in this sphere.

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## 5. FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

India is a big country with 65 crores of population, having diversity of culture, religion, language, race and socio-economic problems. It is the biggest functional democracy and rouses global interest for the working of the system in all its essence and spirit. The question of its future is often raised by the political observers under the complexities of the socio-economic and political situations that have been prevalent in the country time to time. There have certainly been such occasions when the future of democracy is felt at stake. But the system has never stagnated—nevertheless, it has been working, no matter sluggishly, to keep on moving.

There are so many reasons to call for speculation on future of democracy in India. These are mainly economic situation, political circumstances and social phenomenon, aggravated by rampant corruption and bureaucratic administrative machinery. The slightest interruptions on any of these fronts upset the calculations and cause set back to the governmental policy and programme. We have witnessed it in 1975 when political agitation had disrupted socio-economic programme and a stage had reached when emergency was proclaimed throughout the country. It had suspended political activities and political institutions were rendered incapable of functioning. This brought unbearable burden on the democratic system of the country and observing norms of democracy, fresh elections to the Lok Sabha were held. Then it followed a futile era of Janata Government in the country, who could not do anything contributory to its socio-economic progress.

Experience of the Janata rule in India is of queer import. Janata Party was an unholy alliance of frustrated political parties who not only lacked any ideological coherence but also the basis of minimum programme, as it was the case of SVD government in the States in 1967.

After doom of the Janata and the Lok Dal Governments when mid-term elections were held for 7th Lok Sabha of the country, the congress (I) has again returned to power with more than two-third majority.

The current political situation thus can be summed up as follows;

The ruling party of the country as a giant political party in the parliament lacks the character of a mass party organisationally. Nor, there are any signs of such improvements in the near future.

The opposition parties of the country are disunited and especially, the rightist parties are not in a mood to forging unity at any level.

The leftist parties do not stand united. Although they have made some progress in coming closer on basis of like-mindedness but [illegible] not much changed. They are not also [illegible] ative parties [illegible]

The north-eastern region of the country has developed an explosive situation in the form of agitation on foreigners' issue and it has been assuming secessionist tendencies gradually.

Similarly, the economic situation of the country is also very degenerated.

Industrial production is almost stagnant due to labour trouble in the past and power crisis in the country. Prices of essential commodities are shooting high day by day. Unemployment is becoming acute. Sixth Five Year Plan has been scrapped and fresh plan will not be ready till end of the year 1980. New strategy for the plan is being shaped. During this period certain special schemes are likely to be taken-up by the government regarding employment, small industries and export industries to improve trade.

The degenerated economic situation, as it is evident today is the natur[illegible] al policy [illegible] very sad [illegible] is no possibility of any immediate improvement in their conditions under the circumstance. It is a cause of anxiety and unrest among the common people.

In scientific terms in this context it can be said that from 1975 upto 1980, the five years period has proved non-plus from standpoint of economic development. And there is a time lag for necessary reorientation of the sources to resume developmental activities on part of government.

In the meanwhile the working of the administrative machinery is far from being satisfactory. It has proved unhelpful in implementation of the programme and there has been carelessness on their part towards governmental policy and they lack sympathy with [illegible]

masses. The bureaucratic attitude and behaviour of the state machinery poses a great threat to the future of democracy in India as state can only rely on its own machinery to deliver goods to the people. In our country the ruling party is not like Russian Communist Party, capable of maintaining vigilance on the working of state machinery and helping the state in implementation of its policy and programme.

Though it has been realised at the proper level by the national leadership but they cannot help it practically to transform the party overnight into a iron disciplined and mass based party.

The situation as a whole in this country therefore, is complacent and nothing can be predicted precisely about the future of democracy in India.

As we have already seen India is a very big country confronting big economic problems and very typical political situation. The economic crisis and administrative lapses are developing political crisis like in Assam. The trend [illegible] recently poses threat to the territorial integrity of [illegible] mode of thinking of the people [illegible] alternate pattern for expression of [illegible] existing democratic system may crash.

The analysis of the existing situation leads to certain conclusions in respect of future of democracy in India. First is that provided there is no change in the plight of the people, economically and socially and there is no effective change in the state planning and administrative working to fulfil aspiration of the people, their faith in democracy may cease. And they may take to an alternative path. Second is that people may assert themselves as they are mor[illegible] sensitive in this respect. It has been reflected in their voting out t[illegible] power the Congress (I) in the mid-term poll of 1977 for Sixth Lo[illegible] Sabha. Then again reverting their previous decision by voting i[illegible] favour of Congress (I) in the mid-term for seventh Lok Sabh[illegible] recently.

But, in all perspectiveness it can be safely put to the effect tha[illegible] existing system may remain or go but so far democracy is concerne[illegible] it has come to stay in the country.

There may be frequent repetition of mid-term polls in futur[illegible] for state assemblies and Lok Sabha but it cannot be replaced by [illegible] dictatorship or military rule as there is no political group in any o[illegible] the armed forces wing which is a precondition for military take-ove[illegible] Moreover, the country is so vast that a military takeover cannot b[illegible] effected at all. Even in case of manipulation on part of any foreig[illegible]

country as we have been hearing of in context of Assam agitation cannot dispense with democracy in this country. Our belief is strengthened to note that Indian nation as a whole believes in democracy. They may vote out, as many times as necessary, any party from power and may reverse their early decisions but they think in term of democracy and have attachment with democratic institutions of the country.

## 6. INDIAN UNITY

The great scholar-statesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' has very eminently described the most [illegible]ty. According to him there [illegible] lage, race, social customs and [illegible] sort of unity in mode of [illegible] among the vast multitude of the Indian people which distinguishes them from rest of the nations of the world. This 'mode of thinking' and 'identity of expression' could well be termed as 'Indianity' and comes within true meanings and concept of patriotism. It is a proven fact, self-evident and manifest, recognized worldover, that whenever an Indian goes abroad he feels and reacts to identify himself with his countryman—*i.e.*, Indian—no matter he is a Bengali or a Punjabi, Tamilian or Maharashtrian or belongs to any other 'province', practising any religion, speaking any language and belonging to any community.

During the national independence movement all those Indians who had settled in different countries of Europe, Africa and America had drawn closer to one another and were unitedly behind the cause of freedom of their motherland. They never lagged behind in raising their 'voice' or in expressing their concern over the repression of British rulers—and it included Indian community in Great Britain throughout. They had extended their unreserved cooperation to the freedom fighters whether they were offering 'Satyagrah' believing in non-violence or were revolutionaries countering violence with violent means, whether under warrant and underground or a proclaimed offender of the British Empire and crown. In those days London itself had become a resort for Indian revolutionaries and every house belonging to Indian settlers there had turned a hideout and shelter for them.

In this context it is very important to note that these Indian people, permanently settled abroad had no interests in India and their emotional, moral and material support to the freedom fighters was spontaneous and had outpoured due to only one reason and it was that they enjoyed Indian origin. For compilers of Indian National Movement and research Scholars of Indian history it is

also a pretty good, rather novel chapter to trace out all Indian settlers abroad, appropriate and classify their character and vulnerable role related to the national movement.

Returning to homeside to study the composure of freedom movement we are proud of the fact that it was represented by Hindus, Muslims, Charistains, Sikhs, Parsis, Aryans as well as Dravidians, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Tamilians, Kannadians, Malayalies, Maharashtrians, Assamese, Biharis and Upians. No community and no corner of the Indian peninsula were spared in any respect. It is an unique example that we cannot ascribe any other character to our freedom movement as well as to Indian National Congress, its vanguard, than indiscriminately Indian and secular to the very core of it. From the top ranks down to the lowest cadre freedom fighters and Indian National Congressmen were drawn from every community and caste of the Indian people.

This character of ours has been the main factor in frustrating British imperialists who at the strength of Roman motto of 'divide and rule' had managed to rule India for quite a long period till we were not organized to resist foreign domination. And once we were able to do so we forced them to bundle out of our country as dominating bosses and rulers.

There have been filthy attempts on part of saboteurs during struggle period as well as after attaining freedom to spoil our atmosphere and create a wedge between one religious community and the other in a bid to, set them apart from the mainstream. But all this could have been neutralized at the strength of being Indian and incensing 'Indianity'.

This unity of pulsation and identity of expression has found its way in the framing of constitution and elaborating State Policy in social and administrative spheres. Our leadership was unanimous in assigning a secular character to Indian constitution in 1950. The main objective behind it is preservation and promotion of 'Indianity' among the people. The directive principles of state policy have laid stress on social equity, national integration and social justice without distinction of caste and creed. At various levels there have been moves to mobilize public opinion to uphold and strengthen this belief time to time. There has been much legislation to carry out the objectives on part of states. Communalism and casteism have been constantly put to fire throughout post-independence era. And it has been the basis of our national activities and guideline in the respective spheres.

Unfortunately, the vested interest in this country as an agent-provocateur of the world imperialism has been active from the very beginning to undermine this unbreakable unity of the Indian people.

These attempts have been very organized and on a large scale throughout country in two forms. First, in the form of communal riots and secondly, in the form of regionalism, linguism and casteism.

In a way, there was a move sometime back in certain part of the country to secede from the centre on plea of racial complexion. This move reaching certain height subsided automatically because it was not of the emotional character but sentimental and frustrated, alien to the very basis of 'Indianity' and its composure.

We are all aware of the fact that there have been many occasions when India has confronted armed aggression from the neighbouring countries. [illegible] tion has [illegible] out to [illegible]

Recently, we are confronting rather a very awkward situation in the north-east of the country. This trouble has been perpetuated in due course owing to the suspension of the working of administrative policy and neglect by the bureaucracy in execution of governmental schemes. Apart from its political aspects and being a tussle of international intelligence agencies, as doubted by the national leadership, it is a challenge to the national unity and highly repercussive to the emotional integration. We cannot forget that our emergence as a free nation is simply based on the concept of our unity and patriotism. So also its preservance and survival is pre-conditioned by it.

There are a number of problems related to national unity or national integration which require adequate care and attention of the national leadership. All care has to be taken in promotion of emotional integrity which is a pre-condition to national integration. It is more important than a 'set of schemes' to correct the balance of international trade or even create opportunities of job.

Lastly, it may be noted that in the preceding five years we, as a country have, more or less, been stagnant economically due to many factors that have been operative continuously. The same forces that have been causing this set-back have been trying to undermine our unity and integrity, in a bid to subject us to their dictates and turn subservient to their interest. As such, it is a task before our national leadership to counter it at all levels in a bid to preserve and strengthen Indian unity.

# 7. THE ROMANCE OF SCIENCE

Man, the highest product of Nature, has been fearing hi[s] mother in his infancy. He has been worshipping Her in his prime. But when himself he has grown of age he has fallen in romance wit[h] Her. It is in short the history of the advancement of huma[n] knowledge which we call Science. Science is systematic study o[f] the laws of nature of it inquires into the causes and effects of any phenomenon, action and reactions of elements and process of growt[h] of life.

The history of the mankind bears the testimony that during early days man feared nature excessively and in course of time he began to worship it in order to seek harmony with it. In this manner he has been behaving towards nature. It has been going on till the era of 'dawn of reason'. When man began to think about nature and watched its course in a bid to understand its laws and operative conditions, different phenomena of the nature and their interconnections and its effects on human life. For quite a longer period at first man has been watching nature helplessly unable to understand its phenomena. But in due course he was able to learn a little from nature. Nature, as such, is teacher of man, imparting knowledge of her own laws of operation. Though, there were very few man in the world in early days who have been able to devote themselves to learning from nature but the process has been going on as an exclusive practice of these particular individuals and as a result whatever knowledge they acquired had remained their exclusive privilege and secret. After a certain period these 'senior scholars of nature' engaged juniors to impart the knowledge they had thus [illegible] ce and obser- [illegible] man, received [illegible] to scrutinize it [illegible] respective spheres. [illegible] of the beginning of [illegible] nce' came into being as a systematic study of the same. When the science, in course of time, grew up fairly well, the laws of nature had become more intelligible. —

The romance of science [illegible] and romance of [illegible] of maturity of [illegible] der any circumstances. It was maturity of the knowledge that man acquired in course of time and through which he knew the secrets of nature and [illegible] lady [illegible] e is a [illegible] and

[illegible] granted by the Graceful Lady. For the [illegible] very difficult to find out and [illegible] rty involved in romance with nature whether it is man or science. As such, the things can be taken either way. From the standpoint of performance it is science that is on the stage and from the standpoint of direction it is man who is directing the particular scene and the entire play. We call him scientist in the proper terminology.

With this background that we have attempted to trace and put up at length here we look around overselves and the present day world in context of advancement of science and vast achievements of the modern world at the strength of our 'mastery of laws of nature' and its application to the benefit of man.

Science is a very vast subject today and we have got many departments of it now, progressing through specialization in the respective fields. There is continuity of the progress in a very organised and systematic way. Scholars of the particular branches of science are engrossed in experimentation and observation with the heap of the data of their colleagues as well as of seniors. There are observatories and laboratories fully equipped with instruments available to scholars and scientists and it has accompanied with the equal advancement in technology-machanical and instrumental. Scientific knowledge has long ceased to be an exclusive privilege and private possession of anyone. It is no secret now. The latest discoveries made anywhere in the world are circulated in printed forms throughout. There are no restrictions to receive education in science. It knows no discrimination of race religion, nationality and sex. In this manner knowledge about the nature and its laws is spreading like quicksilver from one corner of the world to the other.

We have mastered the laws of winds and waves of the sea and have been travelling by air and ship, we have mastered laws of motion and acceleration and are undertaking journey by superfast trains. We are advancing in medicine and surgery. We are now living in air conditioning and utilising refrigeration. We are enjoying television and telecommunication services at our disposal. Almost every sphere of our life has been modernised with the blessing of science and technology. Scientific methods are applied in enhancing agricultural and industrial production. Science, thus has become predominent in our life—rather ruling over it.

Our advancement into the realm of secrets of nature is the highest glory of our success in agelong romance with nature. Since, it has been with the consent of the 'Charming Lady' it has not offended her to the least. Consequently we have not been subjected to her fury or retaliation. Contrarily, we have been received well

and tipped enormously. The culmination of our romance with nature was in the form of adventure into the skies—our landing onto moon. This mission on part of man and on part of his 'process server' (the Science) could not be otherwise termed but romance with nature (of man and science together). After this achievement man has won recognition of the prober of nature indisputable from any quarter.

It will be quite in place to explain by the way, that the theory of romance (I mean success in romance) holds universality of operation whether in case of human beings or in case of science and nature. Ordinarily, in our social surroundings the romance is successful only in case it does not offend the fair lady and goes without any tussle causing between the parties concerned.

In context of our pursuit of laws of nature we have been discovering and mastering them by way of minute observations and experimentations. Our ventures in any sphere of nature have by all means been in conformity with the nature and its laws of operations [illegible] vith [illegible] of [illegible].

Just like in our social affairs, we have been confronting opposition, during early days of our romance with nature, from certain powerful quarters in name of religion and God. Our experimentation has been branded as Satanic action. We (the scientists) have been humiliated and tortured to death for the very reason. But since we were not deterred, our pursuits went on in different directions in a well calculated manner. Today, consequently, the scientist and the science are highly placed in the society and mankind is on the wings of progress. That sort of opposition has now subsided and we are being held in esteem everywhere.

The distinction of the modern scientist is that although he takes pride in any achievement of outstanding nature but he is not arrogant. He is going on acquiring knowledge of [illegible] id mastery over them [illegible] f its laws. That, is wh [illegible] one after another.

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## 8. THE NUCLEAR AGE

We are living in a world of dynamism which have ushered in 'nuclear age'. Almost all the [illegible] nations of the world have [illegible] their number is small they [illegible] club' while the rest of the

nations are under developed and out of the precinct of this club. In a way it is a new division of the world—nuclear and non-nuclear which is a post-second war development. As we already know nuclear energy is not under the monopoly of anyone of the power blocs. Western powers, as well as Soviet Union and China equally possess this energy. Hence, they are competing in the varieties of nuclear armament to claim superiority over each other. By and large, this nuclear energy, being in possession of the rival power blocs has put them to an armament race to the extent to 'mid-summer madness'. Vast resources of the respective advanced countries are directed for the purpose. Whenever a new device is tested by one bloc the other enhances its endeavours in the same direction and tries to beat the other in a surprizing manner. Since, these weapons are not commercialized or not meant for sale to non-nuclear countries a sort of stock-piling of these arms has been going on. Today, it is not the superiority of armament but its strength and potentiality that counts. Due to nuclear armament race both the power blocs are afraid of each other for the striking capacity that they already possess within knowledge of each other and the capacity that they may not be [illegible] f their own [illegible] practice of [illegible] liferation of [illegible] But, as a matter of fact, 'armament race' and 'check treaties' are going on side by side in one form or the other *i.e.* if not overground underground tests are unabetted.

Not only that nuclear knowledge is jointly possessed by the big powers but has also been acquired by developing countries like India. There is, however, a difference into the related matter. For instance, India has [illegible] nce' but [illegible] We have [illegible] rmament [illegible] we do [illegible] to develop armament out of our advancement in nuclear technology and know-how. Our main purpose by acquiring nuclear knowledge is to master it to use for peaceful purposes—like agricultural and industrial development etc. Advanced countries are not pleased over our intentions because, the more we are advanced technically and scientifically, the lesser remain the chances of our exploitation by them. It is not palatable to them. This is the main reason behind refusal of fuel for atomic reactor at Tarapore in the past by U.S. administration.

India has many a schemes of use of atom[illegible] developmental pur[illegible] advance stage of p[illegible] of economy. It w[illegible]

indigenous resources as dependable for our nuclear progress. But there is no doubt in it that we would achieve success in due course, sooner or later, as we are busy in this connection already.

Our devotion to peaceful use of atomic energy is frequently disrupted by the attitude of our neighbours like China and Pakistan with whom we are in conflict over border issue, and Kashmir respectively. China already nuclear is a bit ahead of India and unfriendly towards us. While Pakistan, though successively beaten to brows, is trying to became nuclear just in a bid to settle the so called Kashmir dispute with India at the strength of a nuclear bomb. Under this type of situation we should also think of our arms strength in nuclear terms. It will be quite natural and we should not hesitate in taking to that course if there is no option left with us in this regard.

As it has already been said, nuclear energy causing armament race among the big powers has put the entire mankind on the heap of explosions and in case it goes off anyway our existing human society worldover shall meet its doom unsparingly. Because, it is not necessary that Russia and America should use their nuclear weapons [illegible] to natural phenomena [illegible] Beside this, suppose [illegible] only the country of the [illegible] ound side too.

This fear is genuine and recognized by the nations of the world and at UN level disarmament pursuits are under way in one form or the other. Destruction of 'dangerous arms stock' by the nuclear nations is one of the foremost proposals to allay the fear mentioned just afore. Then there are other proposals related to and within purview of the treaties like non-proliferation of nuclear arms, moratorium on tests etc.

[illegible] armament race is very sharp [illegible] are being made to halt all [illegible] of nuclear arms as and where it is, guarantee [illegible] one another, and di [illegible] the developmental [illegible] omically backward countries. In non-aligned and neutral countries, belonging to Asia, Africa and Latin America there is almost unanimity over these issues and they are active at all levels—national and international, to give impetus to it.

While we have dealt at length the dangers of stock-piling of nuclear arms with big powers for the mankind, beyond any barriers of nation and race etc. we would like to go in another aspect of the

problem—probability of world war or head on collision of big powers. We find that so far this danger is concerned it has been reduced to the greatest extent. Since nuclear arms are equally possessed by big powers none of them has courage to use its nuclear power against the other for so many reasons within purview of destructibility and its repercussions. The striker is not sure of its own safety after making targets in the territory of the enemy.

Secondly, these arms cannot be used in the battle-field where the armies are engaged in fighting.

Lastly, the nuclear age may prove a blessing for the mankind only in case the futile armament race is stopped and the energy is diverted to peaceful purposes. There is a variety of its use in reclamation of land, developing water resources, lifting subsoil water, controlling rain, production of electricity at enormous scale, its use in treatment of chronic and fatal diseases, in using as germicidal and pesticidal and so on.

We are right in our approach as a non-aligned nation to pursue use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially, in developmental tasks. As soon as we are able to overcome our difficulties in the way of nuclear progress we shall be the pioneer to the world in best utilization of the source to the benefit of mankind at large.

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## 9. THE MENACE OF RISING POPULATION IN INDIA

India is the [illegible] and has [illegible] ble impr[illegible] in all respect of economy. As such, it is very important to curb the rising tre[illegible] desirable results. [illegible]—77 has come do[illegible] per cent annually. Earlier the growth rate has been 2.5 per cent in fifties.

Before [illegible] e population of [illegible] of the country [illegible] 30 crore. The situation of both the countries has been confused for quite sometime [illegible] om across the [illegible] in India has [illegible] tuation of the country from economic point of view was very degenerated and as a

newly born nation the problems were very complicated and multi-dimensional. It took quite sometime after independence of the country to assess the situation in socio-economic terms and decide policy matters in the respective spheres. The trend of the population growth was very much upsetting and it was very necessary to do the needful to check the rate of growth to maintain proportion in order to achieve substantial progress in the respective fields.

The pop [illegible] ause the growth of [illegible] ates of growth in [illegible] the improvement in agriculture and industry, with indigenous resources or by means of modernisation of method of production in these [illegible] Moreover, [illegible] of agriculture.

The picture may be more clear with the data of census recorded in 1971. According to it the total population of the country (in 71) is 58 crore 80 lakhs, out of it, 28 crore and 40 lakhs are the male and 26 crore and 40 lakhs are the female, representing a sex-ratio of *930 female per 1000 male population* in India. The population growth rate in 10 years has been 24.80 per cent.

[illegible]

The problem is not particular with us. Rising population is a [illegible] being made to increase [illegible] rates to proportion, to [illegible] gress within criterion of planned development chosen for the country.

The rise of population otherwise, is not a new phenomenon. It is natural instinct of human beings to multiply their number. And we, like any other nation of the world, have been behaving quite naturally in this respect. There, are however, other aspects of the study of rising population. First is that growth of population being a natural phenomenon is not to be worried much about because beyond a proportion nature uses its discretion to correct the situation automatically. In this case death rates go up. But when we are trying to improve medically and attempting to bring down death rates, in our bid to ban epidemics and control fatal diseases, it takes

us back to check the birth rates too. There has been a clergy-economist named Malthus who had propounded his theory of population to the effect that while the production of foodgrain increases arithmetically, the population increases jebrically *i.e.*, 2, 4, 8, 16 hence, if unchecked it would either cause nature's recourse or would turn into the curse for the entire nation and community. Though his theory was mainly in context of 'preachings of moral restriants' but it is taken seriously, by the conservative European economists and sociologists. Contrary to it, the modern economists hold the view that food production can also be increased dynamically by way of modernization of the method of cultivation. But here the question is of the proportion of growth of population and production. If the two are going on freely the birth rate would beat down the production rate, sooner or later.

It should be very clearly understood that it is not only the food production alone that calls to curb the rising trend of population but there are other problems which we are confronting as a developing nation. For example the problem of congestion and overcrowding in urban towns, urge for improvement in the standard of living, provision of job opportunities and a number of other very odd and emphatic socio-economic problems of the state concern.

Hence, in order to bring down the rate of growth of population a number of measures ar [illegible]
by means of contracep [illegible]
heavily. People are by a [illegible]
as we know, the litera [illegible]
per cent and as a result they as a whole are not only unconvinced by the strategy and practice but are averse to it. There are also shortcomings in respect of propaganda strategy on part of the bureaucratic machinery in popularising it. The state on its part however, has been striving hard in this connection and it has proved successful to some extent. In a report of ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific) it is recorded that during the period of 1970—77 the growth rate of population in India has come down from 2.3 to 2.1 per cent per annum. For political reasons, the sterilization being made an stunt against Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1977 and her ouster, there has been a lull in the campaign. But after her return to power again it may be reorientated properly, with necessary modifications and improved strategy.

In the meanwhile abortion has been legalised by the Government of India as a subsidiary measure of prevention of child birth. Special arrangements in maternity and general hospital are made on part of the authorities concerned for the purpose. Subsidised private clinics are also providing this treatment.

Last of all it m ... tions of the community the birth ... in the case of upper ... of living and enriched nourishment may be the main reason behind it. On their part they may be more desirous of standardisation than the poorer people.

The social atmosphere nowadays, is producing a healthy effect on this trend. Workers and other low-income groups are also becoming conscious of raising-up their standard of living and it may help a lot towards realisation and practice of birth control.

The outstanding feature of this phenomenon of rising population is that all the backward and underdeveloped countries which are mainly of the agrarian character are facing this menace. The advanced and developed countries on the contrary, do not have this problem at home.

So in order to enable all the backward and underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa to make progress in various respects, economically and socially, it is very necessary that all of them should, ... try to counter it. At UN level there are ... agencies to guide and ... spare any attempt to ... of the benefits—social ... lation and minimising the size of family as well as calculated step towards health and prosperity.

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## 10. INFLUENCE OF CINEMA ON OUR LIFE AND CHARACTER

Cinema is one of the most powerful media of public opinion and mass propaganda. Its popularity is self-evident from the fact that cine-goers are drawn from every sect of the community, irrespective of age group and sex. On this account it can be imagined easily that its influence on individual and social life is deeper and it has impact on our character too. Cinema is one of the important subjects to be studied properly with an objective point of view. Its' study includes technical aspects, artistic problems, presentation of social ... board of ... Without ... ublic.

The study of the subject however, begins with an inquiry as to why the influence of cinema on our life and character is so deep,

comparing all other media that are at work for propaganda and publicity purposes at the same time.

We know already that the films are presented on social themes and the manner of presentation in technical terms as well as in artistic terms is so very refined and accomplished that the spectators are amused and inspired. In 'movie form' if a scene is presented with the best performance of actors, and actresses, spectators are directly affected. Because, it is their real life which is presented on screen in a refined and perfect manner. Then there are dialogues, songs, music, photography and finest picturisation of scenes. The spectator is so much absorbed in all this that it becomes a major and direct source of inspiration for him. He finds himself in perfect harmony and unanimity with the film. In this manner, he advances gradually to import effects that a film is capable of producing in an individual spectator. By and by thus, cinema has turned to be a dominant factor in giving dimension to social thinking.

The theme of a film provokes thinking on similar lines and the style and manner of presentation perpetuate it very effectively.

But as we know, like literature all the films are not on good themes. There are many which present negative aspects of the society. In that case the sum of total effects on an individual spectator shall also be negative.

Since all people are not of the same calibre and their level of intelligence is different, the character formation of different individuals through cinema is also different. For instance if two persons have seen a film presented on negative theme the moral they would get from it would be different according to their own background, mental make-up and psychological composure. Both of them shall differ in their character formation. One would inspire the criminal presented in the film and the other the policeman. There may also be a third person who will neither be inspired by policeman's character nor by the character of the criminal but by the art of presentation displayed by the standard of acting. So, it is merely that effect which is inspired by an spectactor that sets in his character formation. There are examples of young girls and lads turning-culprits after seeing a particular film with the theme of a pepetuated murderer etc.

[illegible]
the c [illegible]
of [illegible]
abou [illegible]
grasp events in order of succession without strain over our brain. The characterisation as presented in films is visualized in memory

and so also the image of the particular personality. We have been abhorring casteism and untouchability after seeing films on these themes.

There are certain trends out of cinema which are not desirable for Indian people in general but they have crept into films inspite of censorship restriction against the same. For instance the glamour of sex. The younger generation addicted to cinema is being spoiled on this account.

Nowadays, the number of adult films is increasing. Its exhibition is restricted to adults only. Such films make a debut of publicity and are always box-office films. Such films are highly undesirable from the point of view of psychological effects. Better, if few of these like 'Gupt Gian' which could be termed as educational or medical films, were not exhibited in cinema halls at all. These were more fit for exhibition in selected halls to the students of medicine or through medical authorities in the respective hospitals offering treatment in V.D.S. cough to the indoor and outdoor patients.

Cinema as a medium of instructions can very effectively by used to educate children as well as to illiterates under adult education scheme.

Television is a marvellous invention which could best be served for the purpose. But we are not particular about the best utilization of TV as medium of instruction. Instead, old films are being made for TV and exhibited to the public unthoughtfully. You may regard it just a source of recreation to the televiewers : Which is not as important as education of children and adult illiterates.

Cinema as an effective medium of education, propaganda and publicity, needs stricter control of censorship. Secondly, there should be a governmental body also for guidance in screen play and choice of themes with a motive of 'presentation and popularisation' of social policies of the state.

Character building is very important for national advancement and particularly for the youth of this country. A well thought of and objectively projected cinema policy can help a lot into the matter.

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## 11. INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY

In respect of clear research and developments the policy of the Government of India is scientifically blended and its implementation has been unimpeded since very inception of the same. It is the only sphere where the essence and objectives have not deterred to the least—simply because the entire affairs have been out of reach and

purview of bureaucratic administrative machinery of the country. It is the scientists' team which is busy round the clock in research experimentations in an smooth manner and compact way. Their sincerity and patriotism are beyond doubt and as a whole it is a *credit for the country that with the meagre resources at our disposal* alongwith limitations of foreign cooperation we have been able to gatecrash the nuclear club in 1974 in a marvellous way. The Pakistan underground test of the nuclear device has astonished the world [illegible] wers, in more than one respects. [illegible] sed by the explosion and there was [illegible] *that had ever been recorded in* any other countries of the world following such underground nuclear test.

*The guide-line of India's nuclear policy is that its primary* objective is to put this energy to use for peaceful purposes and develop [illegible] to the maximum possible [illegible] perfectly even in the Pokt [illegible] very safely and independently go ahead in developing nuclear warheads of our own style and standards, competing in range and quality with other nuclear *powers. Though we may decide to that effect under the* particular circumstances making it unavoidable on various accounts. Still we are guided by our motive of peaceful use of nuclear energy. [illegible] of the fact [illegible] power and [illegible] to become nuclear and both of them have always been posing and causing threat to our national security and territorial integrity—separately and in collusion. Our north-eastern region has been subjected to a conspiracy of secession designed and masterminded by foreign intelligence.

Hence, the first unique feature of our nuclear policy is to develop and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and we are resisting and countering the prevalent complex of situation in a determined way—not to deviate or drift from our fundamntal approach and policy into the matter.

The best use for peaceful purposes of nuclear energy is the power generation which is key to the problems of industrialization. Abundant energy and independent of the traditional resources of power like coal is not an ordinary joke to avail of. Our stress is to generate power *and we have been constructing a number of* Nuclear Power Stations; for four such power station we had sanctioned an amount of 430 crores previously and it has been revised to 710 crores to meet the increased prices of the material, indigenous and

imported. Beside this three more power stations are to be constructed for which suitable sites are being searched in different states, including Gujarat.

We had a nuclear power project of Tarapur for which enriched uranium fuel was supplied by US under an agreement of 1973. But after the Pokharan underground test the supply has been discontinued and a number of problems have been raised in respect of resumption of that supply. They want an assurance to the effect that India won't use the energy developed with the use of the enriched uranium to any explosive test or purpose and would agree to an international inspection to allay that fear.

Of late President Carter had sent in to the NRC (Nuclear Regulations [illegible] uranium to [illegible] that accord [illegible] because neither India is a signatory to the Non-proliferation treaty nor there is any commitment on part of Government of India that she won't produce a nuclear explosive.

India [illegible] because it [illegible] and has [illegible] obviously for reason of secrecy and national security. This aspect of the policy is well enunciated in recent announcement of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the Parliament that in view of national interest India may not remain bounded for not carrying out another underground test or explosion.

In order to carry out its policy into the related matter India has been arranging hard water from the Soviet Union for use as fuel in nuclear power stations without any precondition of surveillance or inspection or any other commitment of the sort.

Our strategy is that remaining non-aligned and neutral into our external affairs and international policy we are seeking cooperation of Soviet Union as well as of the Western countries in nuclear research and have agreements with France and West Germany also in this regard. Canada had provided first nuclear reactor to India installed at Cambay.

We may sum up thus, India's nuclear policy as guided by the motive of peaceful use of atomic energy carrying on research with the help of Western countries and Soviet Union simultaneously and not signing any non-proliferation or other such treaties which would bind or strand her from making research into the nuclear energy and technology.

Our scientists have been trying hard to develop our own resources for nuclear development at the same time. So that we are not dependent on foreign resources or technology. We are trying to exploit vast resources of thorium in the country for the purpose and have made much headway in experiments in that direction.

There is full justification for India's nuclear policy and Govt. of India's announcement to the effect that if it unavoidable under the prevalent situation we can go ahead is for nuclear explosions or implosions in the national interest. That is why we are neither signing any treaty nor providing any assurance to the contrary effect.

India has ambitious plans for use of nuclear energy in agriculture as well as in industry and our nuclear scientists are busy in 'calculated experiments' of developing our indigenous resources and technology for our unstranded progress.

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## 12. PROBLEMS OF FILM CENSORSHIP IN INDIA

Films, as we know are an effective and powerful medium of moulding and shaping public opinion. India which is amongst the advanced film producing countries has got a sizable film industry that has been mainly concentrated in Bombay. With an object of control of films that are produced in India we have got a Board of Film Censorship which after a proper scrutiny of the prepared film approves it for release with modifications, if necessary, and issues a certificate of fitness along with its classification, Adult or Universal, language and the type etc.

The main function of this board therefore, is to scrutinize the film, classify it and approve for release with or without any alteration. The main criterion for it is to check and remove obscenity, to see that nothing is repugnant to the law and constitution of the country and it does not cause injury to the sentiment of any section of the Indian people and is not prejudiced or perjurious to any religion or particular sect thereof.

Inspite of the operational existence of this process of film censorship in India it has been quite evident that the films that are released for exhibition to the public have been causing more harm than good [illegible]
murder, smu [illegible]
turpitude. [illegible]
adolescent c [illegible]

scenes of respective films. Youths in their prime have derived inspiration from it contrary to the import and impact sought to be created through it because it is certainly a case of enthusiasm of cine-goer vagabounds diverted to perversion. Well who is responsible for the situation? When there is already an agency of the government exercising its authority to censor the films what else is lacking that has been causing undesirable impacts upon the society.

Naturally there is lacuna in the process as well as want of a national policy towards film production.

Our censorship board takes to process the film *i.e.*, the stuff that has been presented in the finished forms. Usually, obscenity or other restrictive, and prohibitory elements are to be picked up from the particular scenes. In a particular scene of a film it is very difficult to pin-point the objectionable point from the point of view of its impact. The scene might be so intact sometime that it won't be possible for the censorship to pin it properly. And this goes on accumulating throughout a film. Secondly, there is no standardization of any element from point of view of its permissibility and impermissibility. It is the theme that is maintained in the story and you cannot overlook it anywhere. When you are viewing a particular scene which is intact and related to the proper theme you cannot locate the objectionable. The film as a whole is of the impact on human psychology and in parts it is neither felt properly nor pinned-up as such.

The governmental attitude towards films is that it is looked upon as an industry and its affairs are treated as those within purview of industry and trade. It is never treated as a social phenomenon with powerful mass appeal and deep impact upon human psychology. That's why there is absence of a national policy on films.

Hence, besides technical flaws in censorship the foremost thing is the absence of precise concepts and standardization due to non-existence of a comprehensive national policy and its objective.

*The first thing in this connection is* that *government*, in view of its socio-economic policy and its objectives, should elaborate a comprehensive and objective film policy. It is all the more important in view of its impacts upon public opinion and as a powerful mass media of the same. It involves no cost for the state to derive tremendous benefit from it.

[illegible] desirable effects upon
and in the same sequent
ample, there should be

control on part of government as to the films that will be produced in particular period of time and their type. The number of films on social themes, on crime, on adventure, thrill etc.,

Script of the films proposed should essentially be subjected to censorship and they should appropriate it in an expertise manner. Similarly dial[illegible] ould also be scrutinized before [illegible] ry process when film is produced [illegible] censorship to examine it on the basis of the approved script.

There should be displayed every sense of justice in elaborating this 'national policy of films' and the enlargement of the censorship scope. Treating it a social functionary it should not be exploited for petty political purposes. Instead, the objectives of this suggested policy should be broader and in conformity with the objectives of socio-economic policy aiming at strengthening of the healthy social trends and moulding them to the effect of common good.

The main objectives of socio-economic policy can well be made to understand by the people through films guided and shaped by the State. The social reforms that need mass propaganda and approach can be converted into the themes of the films.

The broader objectives of nation[illegible] ecularism, [illegible] ctive and [illegible] produced [illegible] of film [illegible]

The enlarged scope of the film censorship will make it stronger and more effective by way of the following:

(*a*) Censorship approval of the theme and the script of the proposed film.

(*b*) Appropriation of the amount to be spent and determination of its standard and outlay.

(*c*) Final approval for release.

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## 13. INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

The chief architect of India's foreign policy has been Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself and guideline of it has been based on *Panchsheel.*. This policy has been very relevant and acceptable to everyone, especially India's neighbours have been satisfied with it

fully. Though it is ironical that India has experienced aggression from its neighbours, especially from China who was a signatory to Bandung principles. But it has not deterred this country from observing these principles in its relations with neighbouring countries. In case of China itself India has been upholding the cause of China's representation in the UN even after it's confrontations with that country.

The neighbours of India are Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bangladesh, Burma, Russia and Sri Lanka. On part of India the criterion of non-interference into the internal affairs of our neighbours and peaceful co-existence with them is practised all through and on all such occasions where necessity has arisen or felt India has offered to negotiate for a settlement based on Punchsheel.

The first odd situation was created by China's aggression against India in 1962 over territorial conflict in the North Eastern Frontier Agency. But as we have already seen neither India retaliated by withdrawing support to China's admission in the UN nor ignored the necessity of normalization of relation with that country. Negotiated settlement has always been pursued on part of India and we have been eve-ready to go ahead in this connection without the least hesitation.

[illegible] Kashmir [illegible] e part [illegible] She [illegible] ant in [illegible] le fact [illegible] ountry and the people of Kashmir have already given their verdict in favour of the same. As Indian people they have been enjoying freedom of expression and have been exercising right to vote.

On part of Pakistan repeated attempts have been made to grab Indian territory but every time they have failed and suffered heavy losses. India has been always courteous inspite of all this and has been ready to sign agreements of friendship with them, returning prisoners of war, resumption of diplomatic relations and so on.

[illegible]

It may be noted in context of Indo-Pak relations that India's generosity and large heartedness has been very much evident and

menifest in Tashkent as well as in Simla in extending friendly cooperation to that country. Further, we have been offering friendship in the form of no-war pact with that country which has been declined repeatedly by them. Recently, they have been trying to do major arm build up in Pakistan and are seeking US-Chinese help in that respect which is a source of perpetuated concern for the Indian people as it can be used against us alone or against their own people. India being bounded by its own criterion of Punchsheel and good neighbourlines has always been indifferent to events in Pakistan and has never allowed anti-Pak propaganda from India against military takeovers and replacements of civil governments by the army Generals We are well aware of Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan and their role in training saboteurs in Pakistan territory but even being emphatically opposed to it we have not allowed any anti-Pak propaganda from Indian territory on our part. We have not even criticised her for her policy and role into the related matter. Isn't it our firm conviction and belief in that principles of non-interference and non-intervention into the internal affairs of other countries (neighbours) which has restrained us from doing otherwise.

Our relation with Nepal are friendly and we have been extending cooperation to that country in economic development of the latter and providing all facilities in trade etc. with other countries through our Calcutta port.

With Burma we have good relations and mutual regard for each other.

With Bangladesh our relations are based on friendship and mutual cooperation. We had signed treaty with that country of mutual friendship and cooperation. River waters of Ganga and Brahmaputra are being shared with Bangladesh to the benefit of latter. [illegible] regime w[illegible] our side. [illegible] agreements of mutual cooperation with them.

Our relations with Sri Lanka (Ceylon) are quite friendly and the tangle of Tamilians in that country which was of our concern has been amicably solved.

Bhutan is a Himalayan Kingdom and our relation with them are very close. By virtue of a treaty with Bhutan concluded in 1949 we have been maintaining their foreign relations for sake of convenience to the latter.

Finally our relations with Soviet Union are very cordial and in many respects our approach and policy regarding a number of inter-

national issues is identical. We have signed a treaty of friendship in August. 1971 with that country when the western countries, US and China had supported Pakistan against India openly.

Soviet Union has always been supporter of India in the UN and has been using its veto in the Security Council in favour of India on the issue of Kashmir. We have been receiving this cooperation in many spheres of our developmental field. When US had stopped supply of enriched uranium to feed Tarapur Atomic Power Station, Soviet Union has been supplying 'heavy water' to us to be used as fuel without any precondition of inspection of the working of the project or any other thing of the type.

There are bilateral agreements with Soviet Union in many respects like promotion of bilateral trade, cooperation in technological and scientific developments, strengthening of cultural ties between the two countries. We have joint missions to accelerate pace of cooperation between the two countries and beside this our relations with East European countries are also very friendly and based on mutual cooperation.

India has proved its worth as good neighbour in case of all such countries irrespective of the attitude and behaviour of any of them.

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## 14. PLANNING IN INDIA

The very concept of planned economy is based on Socialistic pattern of development which was adopted in Soviet Union as an *instrument of State policy to achieve self-sufficiency* in all spheres of economic field. When India got independence in 1947 country's economy had been completely shattered by the ruthless exploitation of Britis[illegible] national leadership of the country w[illegible] planned development and impressed by the achievement of Socialism in Russia. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the foremost Indian leader and an eminent scholar of Contemporary World History inspired socialism 'in concept and essence' and adopted a policy of planned development for the country. As a result in March 1950 country's Planning Commission was appointed by the national government. As such, the history of planning in India begins with 1950. Within an year of its appointment the Commission had formulated country's First Five Year Plan. Since then the reconstruction of the country is being pursued through planning and we have certainly made much progress in various respects which has brought good will for us in the world. Today, we are a fast developing country in Asia and have a reputation and voice in almost all outstanding international issues.

The First Five Year Plan of the country was certainly prepared in a haste and its nature was of a patch work aimed at preparing to embark on planned development of the economy. The main stress laid in it was on agriculture, transport and power. Undoubtedly, it was a spadework for future development in different directions and actually created an infra-structure for planned development of our economy.

The Second Plan which was launched in 1956 had laid stress on industry and public sector attained greater prominence. Consumer industries however, were put under the private sector which was mostly the medium and small industries' sector. Since the sterling balance which country had at the time of attaining nationhood in 1947 had exhausted up within two or three years and for our developmental programme it had become inevitable to seek foreign aid for our projects. Consequent to all this, period of the second plan had brought up a trail of deficit financing in our budget because of excessive expenditure of planning.

The Third Plan 1961—66 was really an ambitious plan in the developmental history of India. It was through this plan that endeavours were made towards creating self sustaining economy for the country. For this purpose even greater foreign aid had become necessary. This period for our country has also been very hard due to famine and Indo-Pak war which had brought extra and unavoidable strains beyond our imagination and control. The two phenomena had already preceded with inflation. It was ironical rather that we had to import food grain for our home consumption from foreign countries as there was no other alternative before us.

The Fourth Five Year Plan 1969—74 had laid greater emphasis on agriculture which was expected to increase production to the extent of 5 p c. per annum whereas the industry had to show an increase of production to the extent of 9 p.c. per annum.

This period, per chance, has been of greater fluctuations. The Fifth Five Year Plan 1974—79 was sought to be made more ambitious than the previous ones because removal of poverty from amongst the masses and self-reliance in every sphere of life were the main matter of this plan and government was more determined to achieve the targets. The state policy as a whole was moulded to [illegible]

spheres of the country. Practially the planning has almost been suspended during a period of 2½ years/March 1977 to December 1979.

Now, a new Planning Commission has been appointed by the Government of India which is preparing fresh draft of the plan. It will be finalized upto the end of 1980. As assured, the Sixth Plan would be very significant insofar as it would attempt to fulfil the aspirations of the people and lower income classes of the community.

Such programmes as scheme of providing employment to minimum one member of the family, 20 point programme (suspended between 1977 to 1980) and other targettable small scheme would be incorporated into the economic policy of the state so that some thing tengible could be achieved as beneficiary to the common people.

Uptil now, we have been making an assessment of the planning activity in India in just a descriptive manner. But in order to understand planning as a criterion of development we will have to analyse the working of this policy, its character and implementation to find out the weakness that has been evident in this national phe [illegible] concerned, we have already pointed [illegible] is based on that [illegible] self sufficiency and reconstruction of the country.

There are three things missing in respect of planning in this country which had escaped the attention of the national leadership or it was left to the successors to rectify it.

The first thing was that our p[illegible] and had no expert knowledge of planning. [illegible] an independent planning policy a[illegible] values and aspiration of the people.

Secondly, the machinery which was entrusted with the planning its formulation and implementation was unfamiliar and unsympathetic to the masses. Hence, as a result bureaucratic tendencies spoiled the working of the planning machinery.

Thirdly, the masses were not involved in the implementation of planning and the 'Shramdan' scheme of the rural area during early plans was spoiled by the blank-headedness of the bureaucracy associated with the planning machinery.

[illegible] shortcomings balata [illegible] ontext of the ruling [illegible] throughout the country. It was more a national front against British imperialism

rather than a mass party like Bolsheviks in Soviet Union. It was due to this reason that Indian National [illegible]
role which Bolsheviks have played in [illegible]
the development of that country and [illegible]
the administrative mechinery connected with the planning. The youth has been neglected to the effect that we are lacking in younger cadre to assist and cooperate us in such fields like planning is. There has been a realization on part of our national leadership and the problems of planning. It may be expected that some improvement would certainly take place in handling.

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## 15. INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

India is the biggest democracy of the world where democratic institutions are working since 1952 and there are political parties participating in Parliamentary elections at central and state-levels. There is greater scope for emergence and flourishing of political parties in India because of the democratic set-up and the constitution that is based on secularism. Beside this, there is need of political parties in this country to politicalize the masses and rouse consciousness among them.

Our constitution confers upon citizens right to expression and forming associations. Moreover, the socio-political atmosphere of the country is congenial to the growth of political parties and they have got greater scope to choose their role.

In recent elections, like the all previous ones held since after independence, there were numerous parties that participated in it.

Such parties as believe in elections and take part in elections to the popularly elected representative institution of Parliament and State Assemblies are called parliamentary parties. They on basis of their strength in Parliament or State Assembly get recognition of the status and their candidates are allotted the same election symbol. Every party may not be a recognized Parliamentary party enjoying full status, if its strength is below the required per cent age. Still it may enjoy the status of a group in the respective house.

[illegible] India begins with the ruling [illegible] Congress popularly calles [illegible] ndira Gandhi.

It has returned to power in the 7th Lok Sabha elections after a gap of 2¾ years. Its strength is about 2/3 in the Lok Sabha.

It has routed rival parties in State Assemblies and has maintained the same tempo and even position in these elections as well as it had in the Lok Sabha.

This party has an ideology, a policy and programme which is based on secularism, socialism and democracy. As a ruling party since independence, (beside the gap of 2¾ years) it has been following a policy of planned development and has adopted 'socialistic pattern of society' as its motive.

The rival parties included other faction of the Indian National Congress led by Shri Dev Raj Urs, popularly known as Congress (U). It had joined the grand alliance of opposition parties that represented Janata composure in the Sixth Lok Sabha 1977 to 1979.

The Janata factions are represented by Chaudhary Charan Singh's Janata (S), Shri Chandra Shekhar's Janata Party (J.P.), Bharatiya Janata Party led by Shri A.B. Vajpai and another Janata Party's faction led by Shri Raj Narain Singh.

Leaving Bharatiya Janata Party which is the faction formerly known as Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) and Shri Raj Narain's group, the rest two Janata factions are the splinter groups of the same Indian National Congress. There is also a faction of Janata Party led by Shri Jag Jeevan Ram but it has merged itself with Congress (U).

All these groups had manoeuvred to forge/grand alliance on eve of Sixth Lok Sabha election against the so-called dictatorial trends of Smt. Indira Gandhi. The character of this alliance was more anti-Indira than of an alternate political force.

The parties, beside Indian National Congress, led by Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, having an ideology, policy and programme are the CPI, CPM. They have got their influence in South and East in Kerala and West Bengal. In these two states their alliance is in power.

After recent elections it has been realised that leaving Communist Parties—that are limited to the respective areas of influence—the other parties have neither any ideological base nor have any mass-base organization.

Bharatiya Janata Party is however, an ideologically sound and [illegible] as could [illegible] alleged to [illegible] is a para-military organisation and disowns claim to have any truck with politics.

The performance and role of the political parties in last two elections (6th and 7th Lok Sabha) establishes beyond doubt that India lacks an alternative political party or even political force.

There were two ways for growth of an effective opposition in India or for providing an alternate to the country in the parliamentary sphere. First an united opposition which was impossible because there was no ideological coherence among political parties and they were sharply divided into 'left and right camp'. The second alternate was that either of the two—rightist or leftist should have succeeded in forging unity of the like-minded parties, groups and individuals.

The recent two elections have proved that rightists in this country can never forge and maintain unity among their ranks because lack of approach and ideological coherence. They are totally incapable of playing any effective role in the development and growth of the country. Nor they can improve the very standards of the functioning of parliamentary democracy for which they criticise the existing government. Had they been capable of any role they would have overcome their difficulties and retained the power assigned to them by the people of the country.

So far the leftists are concerned their area of influence is very limited. In the south they have got Kerala and in the east West Bengal.

Though they have got a patent political ideology which enjoys character of internationalism but due to split in them the two Communist Parties could not enhance their area of influence nor could play any effective role in the political developments of the country. Of late there has been some understanding between the CPI and the CPM but not much to the extent of rapprochement.

These two parties are also cadre-based and run mass organization like Kisan Sabha and Trade Unions etc. But it would take a very long time for these parties which represent leftist camp in this country emerge to play any effective role in the parliamentary politics.

[illegible] near future.

The Congress (I) which is a vehement political force as ruling party has no powerful opposition to face. Itself, it is problem ridden [illegible] new one enters the scene to play role of an alternate to the present ruling party.

# 16. RURAL UPLIFT—A MAJOR PROBLEM OF INDIA

Every one of us knows it all right that 'India lives in villages'. More than 80 per cent of the people belong to the rural areas and are on way or the other connected with the villages. As such, the improvement of the rural areas is connected with the betterment of the majority of the people and we cannot minimise or by-pass it all together. Moreover, being basically an agrarian country we will have to develop our villages because it is a must for industrial development also.

The condition of our villages is not satisfactory and upto mark in general. There are some states in which rural areas are a bit improved in comparison to many others in certain respects, but as a whole it may be noted that those parts of the country also need improvement in the respects that have been overlooked or waiting their turn for the purpose.

The present plight of our rural areas in general though is not upto mark as pointed out but it should be remembered that their present view is very much changed from what we learn about through the literature about the muddy or sultry primitive identity of an Indian village during British rule or earlier. This little change no doubt has been due to the course of planned development of the country which has at least familiarized. The people of the villages with modern amenities of life. Today they know electricity and its use although, they may not be a consumer of electricity because the electrification of villages does not imply to the effect of its use by the people for lighting in their houses.

In the process of planned development of the country, especially through Block Development Schemes envisaged in the early plans, villages were connected with each other by roads which were motorable, post offices were opened, tubewells were sunk or tanks were built for water storage other than for drinking purposes. With every block (comprising of a specified number of villages) health and veterinary centres were attached. Health visitors were appointed along with Gram Sevaks and Gram Sevaks to educate people in the respective spheres and render them facilities within their purview. Now there are letter-boxes in every village and although post offices are not in all the villages at present but in all such villages whose population is 2000 or above Post Offices have been opened or have been sanctioned to be opened. But there is regularity of postal delivery to the effect of one delivery every day.

Similarly, primary schools are almost existence in all the villages and in every block there is at least a middle school of Zila Parishad. Majority of these schools had been promoted to High

Schools or other equivalent standards in many states of the country. Adult education scheme is also working.

But inspite of all this our villages are still backward and neglected in almost all the modern respects. The standard of development of villages differs from state to state. Punjab is more developed than other states of Northern India. South Indian villages are advanced then the villages of north or eastern India.

It should be realised that rural development that has taken [illegible] necessity of planning in general [illegible] the people of the country. Now [illegible] effect that rural development should be taken as a motive in itself and not guided by certain other motive.

With this realization on part of the people and the national leadership it is necessary to determine the concept of rural uplift and its minimum scope so that it could be a guideline or standard in respect thereof.

The main criterion to rural uplift should be to make it 'self-sufficient' economically and modernize it by providing modern amenities of life to improve standard of living of rural people.

Insofar, as economic self-sufficiency is concerned, it means improvement in agricultural facilities, modernisation of method of cultivation, use of modern implements and equipments, use of fertilizers and improved irrigation facilities.

There should be a set-up in the villages to supervise and advise the peasentry in respect of the crops from sowing to harvesting and also in marketing of agricultural products of the village. The role of middle-man should be expropriated to the benefit of the farmers.

On side of uplift however, there are more things to be taken into account for development of the rural areas. As a whole the rural uplift is a multi-dimensional affair and is closely interlinked with improvement and modernisation of agriculture. The two are inter-dependent upon one another. Rural uplift therefore can be made at the minimum by achieving the following targets in the areas :

By connecting every village with the other by road which is motorable and of all season character. Link roads be connected with main roads.

Every village should have been linked up with the other by transport.

Electrification of villages, and all along the main roads and link roads there should be electric light. Houses in the villages be provided with electricity connections with all safety measures of street and domestic lighting.

Drinking water system should be safeguarded against pollution and germicidal be used properly in wells or where possible filtered water be supplied. For that purpose a water supply reserve would provide drinking water to a group of villages. Through a phased programme the target can be achieved easily.

The existing housing system should be changed into Pucka houses and amenable structures to suit rural needs that may be constructed through a public agency.

Proper structures for schools, village dispensaries and recreation halls be raised.

Communication lines are also necessary to cover the villages so that police stations, dispensaries and public offices could avail of the facility.

Indian villages are out of range and facility of fire service which should be made available to them locally.

In every village there should be their own ware-house where they could safely store their grain after harvesting of the crop.

Rural uplift would require an expert planning—one that has been taken up by Afro Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation (AARRO) with headquarters at New Delhi. But they take-up pioneer projects only. Since we are patronizing that organisation we can avail their cooperation, sympathetically in shaping any such scheme of rural development which would uplift our villages under a phased programme.

One of the member countries of the AARRO is Japan which is specialised in rural housing and reconstruction and we can count their advice and collaboration to suit our need.

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## 17. OIL EXPLORATION IN INDIA

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India is very rich in oil and its resources are awaiting exploration by ONGC in different parts of the country.

Beside Assam we have explored oil in Gujarat and on high seas off Bombay. —Godavary basin

There are many oil refineries of our own to filter and process this oil. Though our oil is very small in quantity and we meet our requirement otherwise but the strides being made in this sphere do indicate that we shall become self-sufficient in our oil requirements in not a very distant future.

As it has already been said we have been searching oil throughout count ... various parts of

... But thanks to the technical bilateral cooperation agreements that we have got with many countries of Eastern Europe as well as of the west that we have been going unimpeded ... country like India it can ... we are not doing as m ... inance and equipments.

Oil explorat ...

... is being made the basis of an international treaty in this respect. There is a Sea Boundary International

Commission which is working out the details of the proposed treaty to which India will also be a signatory. Had India not secured success in exploration of oil off Bombay shore the idea would have not been so actively pursued. Because, there are exports in advanced countries like US, Britain, France, Germany etc., who hold the view of oil contents in the high seas and are waiting an opportunity to do exploration on a vast scale.

Oil being a source of energy is of great importance to India just like any other country of the world and the claim of self-sufficiency can never be genuine unless we are ourselves able to explore sufficient oil to meet our home requirements in full.

It will not be out of place however, to recall that since our [illegible]

Our planners have been doing a great deal of work in paying full attention to it right in time.

In order to go ahead with this programme we need a kind of [illegible] country. [illegible] ation is [illegible]

In view of the situation there is an imperative need to restore normalcy and peace in the areas where we are busy in such explorations as oil, otherwise our progress would hamper by all mean. And we shall not be able to make much headway in this regard.

[illegible] ONGC [illegible] over [illegible] re is [illegible] eeds [illegible]

In this connection we may also need invite collaboration of [illegible] the Soviet Union, both the German [illegible] France and Switzerland under a [illegible] veen India and each of them.

ONGC is [illegible] detail in [illegible] rity order [illegible]

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# 18. THE TYRANNY OF INDIAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Every community of the world without exception has got its own peculiar social composure and traditions which denote their psychological make-up, social concepts and mode of social behaviour. The peculiarity of Indian people is reflected by their orthodoxy and regressiveness in observing age old practices and social customs which have nothing to do with any reasoning or rationality of the contemporary world. These customs vary group to group and region to region but their grip in certain respects is so strong that there can be no other proper pre-fixation to it than the world 'tyrannical' while attempting to describe them. We shall remember the names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Lord william Bentinck in connection with 'Sati-custom' which was banned in India during those early days of English rule over the country with the support of Indian social reformer mentioned afore. The practice was brought under the clause of murder U/S 302 and as a result, made a cognizable offence to try the offenders and award punishment of an intentional murder. After much hue and cry over this action of the rulers the custom did not remain in practice in vogue and stern attitude of the then government buried it with stronghand. It could be done as such because it had the support of an influential Indian reformer and innocent womenfolk were provided protection against an inhuman and atrocious act out of rather social misconcept into the related matter. But after independence, although the general public opinion is still deadly against 'Sati-pratha' but the astray cases of the kind are frequently heard in Rajasthan, especially where Rajputs are predominant in almost all social respects.

There was a background behind this 'Sati-custom' and practice and it was early marriage and no right of remarriage for the widowed woman. She was considered as 'abomin' and when surrounded by the ominous women, she had no way out but to 'offer herself sati' and burn herself alive along with the dead body of her husband.

This was however, an extreme cause of the tyranny of a particular custom which could be put down because it had arisen a concern of state and could not be tolerated in practice whether as murder or as suicide.

Beside this there is another strong custom among Indian people called the practice of untouchability. The caste Hindus, as well as some other communities, excluding Christains, consider Shudras, now classified as Harijans (sweepers and cobblers) as untouchables. This social practice is based on a misconception of social ideal of

'Varnas' which divides society into four distinct classes *i.e.*, Bhramins, Kshatrias, Vaishas and Shudras. These classes are assigned different roles in the society. Bhramins are the priesthood class, Kshatrias are the defender, Vaishas are the trader community and Shudras render personal services coming within purview of sanitation. Though, the original system had introduced this classification in the form of division of labour but the misconception or rather misinterpretation on part of 'vested interest' promoted untouchability in the society.

After independence however, strong legal and social measures were initiated on part of government which has played a very effective role in rendering untouchability as an unsocial practice but still it has not attained the status of an anti-social practice. Practice of untouchability is a cognizable offence all right but public opinion has not been fully reconciled to the social concept of law so far. As a part of socio-economic policy of the National government special facilities are also extended to this community in a bid to improve their lot. This feature being associated with Hindu society has been a sourc [illegible] the community [illegible] conversion to Is [illegible]

Our national leadership has been very conscious in this respect and it had drawn the particular attention of Mahatma Gandhi. It was on his instance only that the Indian National Congress during independence movement has been fighting concurrently on social front against untouchability and communalism blatantly and in unequivocal terms.

There comes next to it, the 'casteism' which is one of the strongest practice still prevalent in the society. But there are certain limitations in this regard. Prejudices in respect of caste can be abhorred publicly at the top of voice but you cannot compel anyone to cast down casteism at anybody's instance and allow ones daughter to marry out of caste. Within a particular caste however, there are 'gautras' and marriage of the daughters in the superior gautra is permissible. Though intercaste marriages have also become frequent among the Indian people but it can still be regarded rather an exception and not a rule. This tendency by the way is on the increase and containing signs of social tolerence for itself.

The early marriage or child marriage is now at a discount. In connection with marriage the tilak and dowry system are very st [illegible] y m- [illegible] ti [illegible]

Upholding certain rights of women connected with right to divorce and right to remarriage, right to share property and assets of the ancestors, legislations are being enacted in view of equitable social justice to the fair sex.

The bondage of social customs which has been very strong and tyrannical in many respects is now being loosened one way or the other. Still we will have to fight for all undesirable social custom in a determined way, morally, socially and politically.

The stage is being set for a cultural revolution in the country but for a desirable and effective change in social practices and customs much ground work will have to be done before an offensive in that direction. The masses will have to be educated to shade social misconceptions about their customs and practices and correct themselves. This task can be assigned to the youth, assisted by the state treating it a national problem. As a preliminery task a consensus will have to be created throughout country in favour of social reforms because all this can only be done as part of social reforms for the uplift of the people. Otherwise we cannot involve the masses which is a pre-condition for the success of the movement.

Punjab in certain respects has been leading in breaking social customs which is a good example to be followed by others. For example in villages the marriages are being treated as community affair. On a particular day mutually settled between the parties concerned Punchayat undertakes arrangements for the grand feast and ceremonies are performed *en mase* in grand 'mandop'. The system is being popularized in Hindu and Sikh communities and there is good response on part of the people. It has reduced the cost of the marriage of girls and has saved parents from the unnecessary harassment.

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## 19. INTERNATIONAL DISABLED YEAR : 1981

March, 16 is International Disabled Day which is observed all over the world to do sympathy with those people. It is based on the concept that disability of a person in one respect makes him richer in other faculties and as such they are also useful 'otherwise' for the society.

The cause of the disabled is upheld by the society and social organisations arrange voluntary services for them. It has been observed that a permanantly disabled person needs special care and arrangements to develop his other faculties in order to become an useful citizen. It is at this juncture that States interest in uplift

of disabled has arised and at the UN level their day is observed throughout world. On this occasion member countries of the UN would announce their respective schemes for the disabled with a view to manipulate their facilities and let them feel that inspite of being disabled they are not deprived of the varieties of world, except in respect of their disability.

Just as 1979 was observed as Children's International Year and all the member countries had observed it with a variety of programme to uphold their cause so in the similar manner 1981 has been announced by the UN's social committee to be observed as Disabled Year throughout world.

Every country has been treating disabled persons as no lesser asset of the nation. Special allocations have been made in their respective budgets to help that section of the community. Social affairs departments have been functioning with special programmes for them.

There are different type of persons in the society which are permanently disabled due to either any accident or ailment or [illegible] of them needs special care to develop and [illegible] to become a useful citizen of [illegible] blinds, by birth or by accident. They are permanently disabled. They are provided education by means of special devices. They are provided with special type of books with embosed letters and they read it through tips of their fingers. They can write very fluently and are taught the technique of writing. They can do typing as speedily as any other person can. [illegible] where they are provided education as [illegible] by charitable [illegible] There are more blinds which are not privileged to [illegible] or states are not to be [illegible] des and the [illegible] of the dis- [illegible] ing because [illegible] such or- [illegible] which would [illegible] an easily [illegible] by the state. [illegible] are taken by [illegible]

Then comes the dumb and deaf fellows. They can see but cannot speak and hear properly. There are institutions for them also where they receive education and training in crafts.

The third category is that of those who are without hands and legs partially or totally disabled by any ailment or accident. Their problems are quite different. Those who have hands can be more useful than those who do not. Because, a man, if cannot walk or move himself, can work in sitting position all right.

Persons with amputed hands and legs are provided with plantation of artificial parts of the body so that psychologically they are not as depressed as without any part of the body.

State has a great role to play for the cause of disabled. And in India like other countries, special allocations are made to spend over them in order to make them useful citizens of the country.

In the year 1981, Government of India is going to announce more facilities for them and there is variety of programme to uphold the cause of disabled in the society. More institutions will be established for the purpose and free cooperation at the international level is likely to be announced by many countries of the world for the betterment of the disabled.

United Nations Social Programme is of great importance and such programmes like 'Disabled Year' would help much to uphold and serve their cause throughout world.

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## 20. THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF INDIA

One of the outstanding character aspects of Indian polity is its [illegible] country with rich liter[illegible] got its own language. Hindi is the language which is spoken and written in more than one states. This diversity of linguism had helped British rulers to impose English as the language of the State and administration—consequently the medium of education in British India wasalso English. When India became free in 1947, one of its foremost problems was that of 'lingua franca' (the national language). On merits of its being spoken and written in more than one regions of the country Hindi was adopted as national language. But there were a number of problems in doing so. One of them was of improvement and standardisation of it to raise it up to mark to serve the purpose. Being a language of literature it was very rich but not so rich in contents as to fulfil the need of modernity. Sciences were new for Hindi. There was lack of terminology of modern social and physical sciences in this language and without it, it was impossible to adopt it as national language and medium of instruction. Hence, it was decided that Hindi with Devnagri script will

be the 'lingua franca' of this country and for the time being English would continue as the language of the administration and of higher education. In the meanwhile Hindi will be improved and enlarged upto the required standard to replace English which is not of Indian origin.

There was unanimity among the national leadership over it. In respect of the script however, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was of the view that Roman script be adopted for 'lingua franca' in India and Hindi, along with other Indian languages be integrated for the purpose in this manner (through Roman script).

The idea of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was novel and elaborate but it lacked aspirations of the people. Hindi speaking as well as other lingual entities of the country were not inclined to uphold the elaborate idea of Netaji In this way, Hindi was chosen finally with Devnagri script as the national language.

The merits of this decision are quite visible.

Hindi has very rapidly developed as modern language and it is doing better as medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The regional languages have simultaneously got fresh opportunity of modernisation and are growing in healthy atmosphere. Their identity has also been preserved.

While Hindi has been adopted as national language it is improving day by day.

Thousands of newspapers and periodicals are being published
o its growth valuably and its
Radio, TV and Films are also
non-Hindi areas. The three-language formula adopted for secondary education is very useful in raising standard of the students. They are being familiarised with their national language as well as with the regional language in this manner. It is in the long run contributory to the richness of Hindi and the respective regional languages because in this way both the languages would accept influence of each other.

In modern Hindi literature use of Marathi words is increasing Perchance, Marathi, though a separate language has the same Devnagri script like Hindi and it is one of the factors in exchange of usages between Hindi and Marathi.

Hindi is now gradually advancing in all regions of the country and is normally understood in south and eastern regions b··

common people. Hyderabad Hindi Parachar Sabha has contributed greatly to the popularity of Hindi language in the South and has promoted its growth in that part of the country.

Practically there is no tussle now between Hindi and regional languages and all our Indian languages are growing in healthy atmosphere of amity and mutual tolerance.

It may also be clarified that even during the days of British rule in India there was a language which was spoken and understood by the people of the country from one corner to the other which we called as Hindustani—the language of the Indian people. If it was written in Devnagri script it was called Hindi and if written in Persian it was called Urdu. It was the script that mattered between Hindi or Urdu. Today, Hindi which could be regarded as toned-up or modernized Hindustani with Devnagri script is growing fastly in vocabulary as well as in popularity.

We can remember easily about a controversy of Hindi and Urdu that has been raging in the country since our independence in 1947.

As we all know Urdu is a mixed language with Persian script. There is no doubt inveritability of the Urdu language. It has derived its vocabulary from almost all the languages of the world, including English, French, German, Portuguese, Turkish, Persian, Arabic. Though its script is Persian, it's rear and foundation is Hindi. It has developed in course of centuries mainly at the hands of Moghuls. It has played a tremendous role in the national movement. In India, the Lucknow (Oudh), Delhi and Hyderabad (now capital of Andhra Pradesh) have been the centres of Urdu growth traditionally. This language has failed to get any particular region as its homeland like other languages. One of its centres, Hyderabad belongs to Telugu area where it has got second place as regional language without any difficulty. The case of Urdu as second language in Uttar Pradesh has not yet come forth due to different reasons.

This language will take time in its proper reorientation. For the present it is one of the recognised languages of the State at the central level. As a matter of fact Urdu has its peculiar case and its main difficulty is that of script. Otherwise it is the very Hindustani language, the language of the Indian people, spoken and written in all parts of the country. We do not think there is any case 'Urdu versus Hindi' or *vice versa*. Urdu needs modernity of the 'popular standardisation' and would cherish and flourish as an Indian language with the restoration of congenial and amicable atmosphere

in the country in due course.

The regional languages of India are very rich in literature and contents of cultural heritage. Bengali, Telugu, Malayallam, Kannada, Gujarati and Marathi are also known to the outerward. Punjabi is gaining a new popularity throughout North India.

In States, regional languages are the medium of education and being toned up in order to fulfil the current waves. In State government services regional language is an *essential* qualification for recruitment.

The main problem of languages in India was very amicably solved when States Reorganisation Commission had recommended formation of States on linguistic basis. In that process States were bifurcated. Madras was a bilingual State, having Andhra, the Telugu Area and the Tamil Nadu, Tamilian Area. Andhra region was separated from the State and merged in Andhra Pradesh containing Telengana of the former 'tri-lingual' a State of Hyderabad. The other two lingual regions were Marathwada, merged with Maharashtra and Karnatak with Mysore.

It may be noted that India, next to Russia, has solved its *linguistic problems very scientifically* and *without any conflict*. Today, it is practically no problem of linguism in the country. How wiser it is that English has been retained as official language and medium of higher education. It is serving Indian nation in getting further closer and interlinked with one another and maintaining standards of our education and services.

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## 21. STRENGTHENING THE SECULAR CHARACTER OF INDIA

Secularism is the very essence of Indian constitution which provides a foundation-base for raising an infrastructure of Indian polity. It has been the best suited device to promote the well being and *healthy growth of the nation in view of the diversity of* religion, culture, race and language that has been our rich heritage as a community and social entity.

The social tolerance has been an unique feature of Indian people. We have been sometimes very rigid and orthodox in our own social concepts and practices but in case of others we have been very liberal in allowing them right to worship according to their faith. That is why the most desirable line of action before our national leadership at the time of constitution making was to take-up

secularism as basis for fostering emotional integrity in the entire Indian community just to enable them build-up their character, contending mutual tolerance and identity of expression in all social respects.

It will be a grossly mistaken view if anyone thinks that it was just a device of 'technical import and value' to adopt secularism as convenient for state. Contrarily, it was a value upheld by the national leadership in the larger interest of the community and its well being as a whole. It is closely linked up with the rich heritage of the country and its social composure as there could be no other basis for preserving of our heritage and its further healthy growth.

Our national independence movement led by Indian National Congress against the British imperialism has been assuming secular composure and character so stronger that it could not be undermined by imperialist rulers inspite of their utmost efforts motivated by 'divide and rule' and the bogey of communalism raised by Muslim League or Hindu Mahasabha and such other organisations that have been subservient to imperialist ends, consciously or unconsciously. The very concept of secularism however, has survival the partition and its aftermaths.

In the post-independence era there have been a 'transitionary period' in which right reactionary forces have been active in the country causing harm to the secular composure of our society. But it was a temporary phase of communal orgy, and as soon as it was over our people have constantly upheld secularism as an 'idea and practice' of their social outlook and behaviour.

The structure of our polity to the greater extent is thus resting on the arch pillar of secularism—the other pillars of democracy and socialism that provide support to it are not as strong as the former. Moreover, the preservance of the structure and its entire weight is borne by it.

It is a proven fact beyond any doubt that the political rivals of the ruling party, who are weaker and have no mass base, try to exploit any situation by raising bogey of communalism—sowing hatred between the two communities just in a frustrated bid to emerge to prominence. As such, it has been causing severe jolts to the pillar of secularism occasionally. These manipulations of the 'vested interest' have been a major source of irritation and posing serious challenges to the furtherance of our socio-economic objectives and working of our policy in the respective spheres. The orgy of communal riots in the country has been still recurring occasionally at hand of the vested interest and right reactionary forces

*which has been a disruptive element, polluting our social atmosphere* and repercussive on growth of emotional integrity among all sections of Indian people.

There ate certain aspects of the situation which should be very clearly understood by the intellectuals, intelligentsia and youth of the country who are the main architect of the nation and have a very tremendous role to play in character formation of the Indian community and its upraisal in the contemporary world.

First of all it should be very clearly understood that religion has nothing to do with communalism. There is no religion of the world which professes or cultivate hatred between the two communities or deprecates other contemporary religions of the world. Human, values, equality and social justice, are the real values of all religions Secondly, the communal riots that have been frequently recurring in this country are not based on religious controversies or conflicts. Any person is not murdered by the rioters simply because he practises a different religion than theirs—or his 'religious practice' has harmed anyone. It is on the other hand 'vested interest' which has been exploiting any ordinary incident to serve its ends—personal, social or economic, or to provide a diversion from any particular move or trend. Thirdly, the communalism is exploited by the right reactionary forces to create dissension amongst the people and disrupt the progress being made to achieve 'socialistic objectives' or contributory to it.

In short the 'communal tinge' has been practised in India with an ulterior motive of disruption in our progress by the 'vested interest' and 'right reactionary' forces as tactics and manoeuvres They have succeeded in this mission on account of different reasons which really pose a great danger, for our community as well as for state and weaken the pillar of our democratic socio-political structure to the very core of it.

So, in order to strengthen the foundation—base of our polity and achieve the objectives of our policies and the ideals, it is very necessary to deal with this situation appropriately.

There are a number of measures that can be taken at proper level by the government.

The administrative measures to curb communalism calls for establishment of special units in police force and intelligence to deal strictly and effectively with such persons, groups and forces who attempt to provide communal tinge to any incident or make such moves that are prejudicial to communal harmony. The

approach to analyse and study it.

The history of our national movement provides ample evidence of youth's inspiration for freedom of mother India and they have been playing very dynamic role occasionally. But after independence the role of the youth has been continuously prevented for different considerations under the complex of typical situation of post independence era. Now when there is very striking need of fresh blood we are crying for it in order to preserve and promote national life While we lack the healthy blood, at least of the group we have in circulation of our body, we are distressed. In this manner the nation and its leadership are in such a state of health which could be described of a patient of anaemia, with chronic liver trouble.

The problems of youth today in this country are multifarious and delicate. We need fresh blood in every sphere of life. The young and fresh blood which is abundant in quantity in India needs to go through the process of refining before it could be inculcated safely into the 'body'. It is really a foremost national problem and can be tackled with utmost care and proper approach on part of our present national leadership. Though, there are heavy odds and preoccupations of the latter but it assumes priority over the rest and is closely related to our socio-economic urgencies. Thus, in no way it may cause any diversion from the main track of development either.

The problems of youth are divisible into moral, social, political, economic, disciplinery and psychological categories and all this is related to the socio-economic conditions that have been prevalent in this country in post independence era. Because, as we know, these are the social conditions that determine the attitude and behaviour of an individual.

The moral of Indian youth is degenerated due to abrupt social tendencies and his isolation from the main stream. Lack of association with national institutions and lack of guidance to youth bereft him of the original character and drove him away from any role that he could play in the national life. When the leadership could not plan utilization of the vast potentials of youth of the country, the isolated youth remained a far spectator of the socio-political scene. At first stage he was indifferent but as the situation degenerated further this indifference could not last longer. The developments of the country and degeneration of socio-economic situation had a natural effect upon the youth. His moral was affected as he had lost discretion due to lack of approach and alternative. As a result the vast potential of youths drifted from the

main-stream in frustration.

big problem from s closely related to me in coming to

which is lacking under the circumstances. It calls for a pioneer's role of youth in assault on all conservative and meaningless traditions of dowry in marriages, casteism, religious orthodoxy and communalism.

An attempt for cultural revolution is the best remedy to deal with this aspect of the youth problems but it requires their mobilization for the purpose.

It may well be reminded that in case Indian youth is put to proper guidance and reared up in discipline it can play a very dynamic role in cultural revolution of the country which is more effective than statutes of law in containing outmoded social concepts and practices.

opposition youth is shunned. It is so unfortunate phenomenon in our political life that has bereft our political system of the fresh and young blood and dynamism.

on it is youth of

a potential and

Earlier, there was a movement in Bihar in 1975 which had stormed the political stage.

It was followed by the mobilization of youth by the ruling party for 4 point programme during emergency. But due to many shortcomings and lack of far-sightedness and experience the movement could not prove itself successful and popular.

It is not the youth that is responsible for that immaturity and shortcomings but the ruling party itself.

In this context it may also be reminded that youth being isolated from political institutions and organizations could have not be spared from being dragged into political movements. You may term this phenomenon as exploitation of youth by the vested interest Even the case may be so. But again it is not the youth that is to be blamed-rather it is the leadership responsible for the lapses on its part.

The politics of the country lacks dynamism which is due to absence of the role of youth and it has to be restored with a well thought of plan for the purpose.

Last of all the most important and fundamental problem of youth today is economic problem. Most fundamental aspect of the problems of youth today is the economic degeneration.

[illegible] country has [illegible]

[illegible] realisation [illegible]
hope for serious attempt to solve these problems sooner or later.

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## 23. THE EVIL OF DOWRY SYSTEM

Dowry [illegible] de and is a parental gift [illegible] dowry is as old as the ph[illegible] early days in

India it has been a token of affection and its magnitude depended on pleasure of the parents of the bride within their capacity and economic status. Because, it is natural that on eve of the marriage of a girl, her parents should give such things which are of domestic value and helpful in taking a start of their marital and domestic family life. But gradually, the dowry has become compulsory and more than part and parcel of the marriage it has rather become a pre-requisite of marriage on side of the girls. Now dowry is being demanded on part of the boys, and the parents of the latter settle marriages based on the value of dowry. As such it has become an evil of the society and the style and form of the dowry that is prevalent in this country is not to be found anywhere else—at least it is not based on demand of the parents of the boys and their insistence for fixation of its value. It simply depends upon their will and pleasure and is in no way a compulsion. In such other countries where the dowry is not in vogue marriage presents or gifts are offered to the bride and bride-groom.

Here, in India we note that dowry has become an evil because of the compulsion and its emergence as a precondition for settlement of a marriage. Currently, it has assumed menacing proportion and has became a havoc and it has emerged as a social problem which is acute and chronic and needs immediate attention of the society and state. It would have not become such a havoc had it remained within the economic capacity of the parents of the would be bride to announce the magnitude of the dowry they are capable to give to their daughter. But since the demand on part of the parents of the would be bride groom is based on their own economic status it has turned the situation very acute.

The craze for dowry has been responsible for a number of murders and suicides recently. During emergency in 1975 it had caught the attention of the national leadership and Youth Congress had included scrapping of dowry system in its 4 point programme. The zealous youth had come out in multitude throughout country under the leadership of Shri Sanjay Gandhi. This programme of socio-cultural revolution was however, torpedoed due to political debacle in the country as a result of mid-term polls for 6th Lok Sabha. Now, with the restoration of power to Congress (I) opportunities have been revived to launch a movement for scrapping dowry system.

Our objective should be very clear in this respect. Dowry should not be a compulsion on side of the parents of the would be bride and it should be scrapped as part and parcel or pre-requisite of a marriage.

Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been very clear cut and outspoken in regard of this evil of our society. "In her words,

"we shall have to wipe out the remains of this custom. We shall have to create a mass awakening against the evil effects of this age-old custom. Government will introduce laws, but social awakening is necessary for its comfortable success".

There is no doubt in it that unless legal steps are taken in banning dowry we shall not be able to have an edge over the problem because in absence of law the administration and police cannot play any role in this regard. But if it is not backed by popular movement and the masses are not awakened, we cannot make our movement successful in aims and objects. As a social phenomenon it can be abolished only when masses are mentally prepared to discard this system because if the youths and their parents are not decisive into the matter we cannot help them or protect them by enactment of any law.

There are so many good trends in different parts of the country which have emerged as social phenomenon to do away with evils of dowry system directly and indirectly. For example in parts of Punjab the marriages in villages are performed as community function All the marriages are performed in single function participated by all the village people and its cost is borne by the entire community and not by the parents of the bride only. There is no room from numerous demands from the parents of the bridegroom on the eve of marriage and the dowry is minimized. For an effective deal into the matter the system of the marriage will also have to be reorientated.

Dowry system and marriage system can be overhauled by means of a social movement throughout country and Union government may ask the state governments to enact laws within their purview also from different angles to axe the evil custom.

But beside the fact that this system has become an evil or havoc as a social phenomenon and it should be abolished at all cost there are certain other aspects of the issue that will have to be taken into account.

The economic status of women in our society is not as strong as in other communities of the world. The dowry system in Hindu community has grown-up against the background that daughters do not enjoy right to share in the property of their respective father which would count for their economic status and enhance their social value.

So finally it comes up that dowry system as a pre-condition for marriage of a girl should be made to go by means of law and

mass, awakening and women should be conferred right to share in the property of their respective parents. When equipped with these arms a social movement takes a start, it is bound to hundred per cent success.

In India the dowry is not an evil in the Hindu community alone. Other communities are not spared. For example in Bihar, Bengal, Andhra and Tamil Nadu Muslims are also confronting the same. Hence, it is a national problem and should be tackled as such with strong hand.

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## 24. SOCIAL REFORMS—AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF NATIONAL POLICY

Indian civilization is as old as the human society itself. It has been undergoing changes, sometimes sluggish and sometimes very dynamic, depending upon the complex of the situation of the country and the operative conditions of the particular age. Indian society has been receptive to the positive changes and this elasticity is very remarkable rather a distinguishing feature of Indian polity—as pointed out by Jawaharlal Nehru in 'Discovery of India' and as viewed by Dr. S. Radha Krishnan in his estimation of 'Vedantic Philosophy and Religion'. We know it all right that in course of our ages-long history of civilization, reforms have been a frequently recurring phenomenon.

The division of labour introduced by Aryans in the society [illegible]

[illegible] stage of this degenera- [illegible] iating and emerging on [illegible] their respective ages [illegible] have been gaining grounds in this country as powerful reformist movements. Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Sikkism turn by turn have been flourishing and reforming our society. Later on there have been such movements like Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and a number of other missioneries to rectify and check social degeneration. These have succeeded [illegible] these were based on social reforms pre[illegible] lel religion and in an improved wa[illegible] movement that had shown spiralling trend in the beginning baned gradually due to reformatory and corrective effects on the original one. Then again the same [illegible] ege- nerat[illegible] the socie[illegible] l its

antagonism in the Indian society. Hinduism which is according to Dr. S. Radha Krishnan 'more a way of life than formulation of ideas and thoughts' has been surviving still inspite of Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Sikkism etc.

So, in our present context of the study, the national movement against British Imperialism had to be built-up on those very social bases and the theme of social reforms—no casteism, no untouchability, no religious bar. It has provided a new footing for national integration and a new concept of social justice that is called 'secularism'.

Now, the social reforms have once again become a necessity. Because it is an important aspect of national policy. We cannot make any worthwhile social reforms in this country unless we carry on farther our motto of secularism and national integration—the latter based on the former. This necessity is being felt once again very intensely today because the degree of force that had been put to the pursuit of national integration based on secularism has been spent fully and needs reinforcement to carry it on. Presently we find it that inspite of legislation and enforcement of law in that respect casteism and communalism are still rampant in the society and we ourselves determine candidature in the respective constituencies on basis of caste, creed and such other complexes. Otherwise we take a risk of losing the particular seat of parliament or State Assembly. This degeneration is further evident from the fact that the mode of thinking of the vast multitude of Indian people has once again reverted to degenerated concepts of caste and religion. At least it has been [illegible] nt to serve the [illegible] administrative [illegible] e is motivated or inspired by the same.

In short then, it is the social degeneration in the Indian community which has been creeping into the fold of politics, administration and different spheres of civic and social life and it has to be countered by putting a fresh and vehement sway into the national policy and its implementation.

The main spheres of social reforms that are to be carried on vehemently may be quite numerous but the objectives can be noted and laid down in an appropriate way for pursuance by the government at central and state levels and by the administrative machinery. [illegible]

Most outstanding of these are the following :

1. New dimension in countering casteism—while there is [illegible] it has worked initially in [illegible] s regressive and repulsive [illegible] spheres. The existing laws with further tone-up can still hold good if the law enforcing agencies, police and courts as well as other administrative machinery that may come within its provision are made to handle it properly and in an stern manner.

The social aspect is to promote intercaste harmony by encouraging social mixing up in all social functions. We must encourage inter-caste marriages and afford protection to it. Strict vigilance is necessary to the effect that administrative machinery is not caste-ridden in its behaviour and does not practise casteism.

There should be a code of conduct for the political parties and social welfare organisations to eschew casteism from their spheres of activities.

2. Strong legal and administrative measures to curb communalism and communal disturbances or such cases that are likely to cause communal disharmony. The administration should be vigilant and very strict into the matter. Any government officer lenient or indifferent towards the matter or slack in handling of any such cases should be dealt with severely.

Administration should make it the responsibility of the officers to maintain harmony between the communities and should be penalized for any lapse on their part. The village or the locality being scene of communal disharmony be subjected to collective fines and other penalties.

3. Marriage reforms—Women in India are gradually emerging to social status. But the most ugly situation prevails in respect of marriages. Tilak and dowry system have become so imposing and dominant that it has become a source of social degeneration. [illegible] ere are pre- [illegible] Hindu com- [illegible] affected by the latter at least.

The antedote to this evil is a must. Socially, intercaste marriages, community and enmasse marriages system in villages and civil marriages in cities should be encouraged and afforded protection and moral material support.

The orgy of dowry victims (the murders and suicide wave), the rapes, kidnapping and such case require sternmost legal measures

as well as administrative measures to deal with. Existing law i outmoded and the administration is not adequately geared up to deal with all this properly.

Beside this there are a number of social problems in the countr which need reforms. Legislative measures accompanied with ad ministrative steps be taken adequately to achieve the purpose an masses be involved through social and political workers to creat consensus to that effect. But the lever functional role will be of th vigilance agencies—official and public, who should be provide access to the executive authorities. Because upon them woul actually depend the successful implementation of the state policie and programmes into the related matter.

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## 25. PROBLEM OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

India is a multi-lingual country with diversity of religion an culture. Though mainly there are two races—Aryan and Dravidia in opposite corners of the country but there are other racial com [illegible] stoms and dia [illegible] Traditionally [illegible] all an [illegible] practice [illegible] eviden [illegible] a whol has been our *identity* in aggregate and it is so very vivid and uni que in character that a Muslim whose religion Islam *is universa* and codified is called an Indian Muslim, A Christian as India Christian and a Parsi as Indian *Parsi—not because he inhabit* Indian subcontinent but because he bears a particular shade and composure contending Indian influences in his social behaviour and out-turn.

After emerging as a free nation in 1947, keeping in view the unique and distinguishing feature of our vast country, the national leadership very wisely sought to preserve and promote the sum total of our cultural heritage through constitution and state policy to that import.

matter of State policy scheduled tribes are given special facilities in socio-economic spheres. There is reservation of seats in state assemblies and Parliament for representation of scheduled castes and schedules tribes. There is reservation of seats also in the government services at state and central levels which is strictly followed in appointments and promotions. Recently, a fresh lease has been granted to them by way of extension in the period. The bill in Lok Sabha was presented by the government on priority basis to avoid technical difficulties of the administration.

Recently, there has been a controversy about this special treatment to Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes through reservation in legislature and government services on the ground that it cannot be carried on indefinitely at the cost of all other communities and people as a whole. An alternate to it was suggested concession on economic ground to the depressed or backward people. The suggestion may hold good and logical grounds of course but still it was wiser and sincere on part of government to give a fresh base to these people because they have not yet risen to the required level to compete the rest of the multitude, socially and economically. They are still weak in both the respects and needs further protection.

This controversy however, should enable them to be careful in acceleration of their pace of growth and build-up themselves economically at a higher speed availing of the concessions by the State. Because, it is a fact that it cannot be carried on indefinitely on part of government. After all, India [illegible] its problems are [illegible] [illegible]ment cannot

[illegible] context of national integration it may be noted that in course of more than three decades of our independ[illegible] [illegible]rtain problems have arisen which are [illegible] pro-cess of tackling those problems [illegible]ective doze for healthy promotion of 'emotional integration' throughout country as an essential ground work for the former.

It is felt that emotionally we are not even in intensity of passion for preservation of our unity in the spirit of social tolerance for one another. We do not care in by-passing the mandates and objectives of our national policy for petty personal or sectional interest. We do not hesitate in contesting elections on communal grounds or on casteism. Where these two do not hold any firm ground for exploitation we resort to sectarianism, regionalism or any other sort of parochialism. This tendency is not restricted to any particular political party or any particular regional party, but it has crept as almost a common factor—lowest and highest, in all

political parties and in all regions. Though it is contagious and has worked as such in undermining the very cause of our national policy.

The recent situation of Assam has assumed such proportions that it is of retrospective effect on national integration and if not properly and effectively dealt with it may cause blow to our polity.

The dangers to national integration however, are the growth of sectarial or regionalism, the tendency of revival of communalism, caste ridden politics and corrupt and irresponsible attitude and behaviour of bureaucracy.

The growth of sectarianism or regionalism is well evident in the recent Assam agitation who do not want to tolerate non-Assamese. The grievances that they have with the State or Central government might be ge[illegible] but its remedy could be sought straight away by [illegible] mese people in the State and Centr[illegible] ndustries in Assam and greater allocation of fund for state development by the centre.

Whoever, might be responsible for allowing to develop this situation but presently it needs proper handling and in such a manner that it curbs the regionalism.

It may be recalled tha[illegible] State of Madras where Dravidians are in m[illegible] innetra Kazagam) had assumed a v[illegible] Constitution and raising slogan of greater powers to State. Before, it could reach to a climax, like it has been in the case of Assam, it was handled by the government of India effectively. Now, Tamil Nadu is not posing any such threat and the present composure of the party in power is 'All-India' in outlook and style.

The other form of regionalism is gaining ground in UP where hilly region [illegible] from the UP. This tendenc[illegible] have tribal c[illegible] Demands for separate Vidarbha, Saurashtra and Jammu have also been figuring up time to time.

The orgy of communalism is still alive in the country and communal riots still take place. Let it be Moradabad, Aligarh of UP or Ahmedabad of Gujarat, Jamshedpur of Bihar or Charminar area of Hyderabad city—the forces that are vested interest and subservient to the big industrialists and monopolists' spoil our atmosphere and sabotage national integration. In the recent elections to

the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies there have been certain parties who had taken up casteism as the basis of contesting elections and had sought support of other communities on these grounds.

Lastly, the corruption and irresponsible attitude of the bureaucratic administration is also a major source of irritation and danger to national integration. They are not guided by the objectives of the national policy in their respective sphere but by their personal petty ends and communal, or caste complexes.

Since there is law and national policy pertaining to national integration its implementation in the desirable manner should be assured by the government, and with a strong hand, to stabilise the situation of the country.

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## 26. CORRUPTION—A PARALLEL STATE

The corruption in our life is so rampant and perpetuated in all its spheres that it has assumed the sway and authority of almost a parallel state. It is a parrallel state because it has grabbed the country in an organised way and prevails over the society and administration, working under all circumstances and going unabetted.

The growth of corruption is due to all round degeneration—moral, social, economic, political and administrative. The moral degeneration in individuals has accentuated social corruption which has emerged out of economic degeneration, backwardness and illiteracy. The political degeneration has caused corruption in the particular sphere due to lack of political consciousness among the people. Abuse of power is evident only in case of serving personal ends or political ends by flouting established norms of laws and regulations. This chain of corruption is very strong and unbreakable and no particular device can be helpful in its removal. It requires a set of actions to be taken on part of state to deal with the situation properly. In case it goes unabetted and unchecked the anarchy would prevail in the society and state would be deprived of its authority totally and society would be ruined.

Usually, the corruption in any sphere of life grows under cover in the initial stage and it is only after it has been perpetuated that its face is unmasked. It is a case of its becoming an end in itself. At this stage neither there is necessity of a cover for the ideal nor there is any fear. Because corruption becomes a norm in due course and weakens the resistence gradually.

Since corruption is posing a threat to the state authority it is of the utmost importance for state to strike at it mercilessly and purge it out of all social and administrative spheres.

It is not the case that corruption has been allowed free mobility by the state authority (government). But all the measures that have been taken so far have proved ineffective in checking up of the same for the reason that have been mentioned at the very outset of our approach to the problem.

For example th[illegible] of administrative nature which has assumed enormous [illegible] [illegible]ority [illegible] is sought to be ch[illegible] [illegible]ions [illegible] like Anti-corruption [illegible] [illegible]ance set-ups and appeal to the people to lodge complaints for asking bribe and tips by government officers. But it is not helpful and effective because people cannot get their work done without entertaining bribe to the officers concerned. This system is now so organised and intact that in case you are not willing to please the officer with bribe you will not get your work done. You cannot even trace your application from R and I register without applying 'lubrication'. There is none else to be contactd and told about your 'case' and its bonafide or the misbehaviour of the departmental officer. Hence, the only way out for you is to get your work done at any cost. This intactness of the corruption has further consolidated their 'bargaining' power and it is menifest in the fixed rate of bribery in many respects—like licences and permits etc. A rate is fixed for getting your work done smoothly. Otherwise, such tactics are used that you cannot get it any way.

In such cases where it has become a compulsion to meet the demand of the officer and nothing can be done by an ordinary citizen contrarily, there is anti-corruption branch of the police to deal with it. They certainly deal with it very perfectly after complying a prescribed procedure which only a literate and intelligent person can do. We cannot ignore the procedure of A/C Branch. This department is very smart and duty conscious. But they are not getting adequate facilities and their plight is not worth appreciation.

Beside, A/C Branch all the other departmental set-ups for the [illegible] [illegible]ling with the corruption of the [illegible] of the administration is quite [illegible] [illegible]ovement in the situation. The administration is quite 'as good with the vigilance set-up as without it.' Their disposition is also as sluggish as that of the particular branch of the administration.

The situation of corruption as it is prevalent in the rank and file of the administration has assumed alarming proportion when

the [illegible] interest for thei[illegible] dishonest to the [illegible] department where government arrears are not recovered after taking gratification from the defaulters. The excise duty is evaded by the parties in consultation with the officers. This conspiracy of the government officers and the tax evaders is flagrant cheating of the government and public revenue. The officers who are employed to realize governmental revenue have grown blind poppies and doing dishonesty and cheating of the state revenue—while their duty is to recover this revenue and do not allow evasion under any circumstances.

The corruption has penetrated in the rank and file of such [illegible] officers.

We cannot imagine the state of affairs going on in such places which are supposed to be resting pillars of our state. The watchmen of the state in practice have turned thieves.

There are so many things connected with the matter that are not within permissible limits to deal at length to point out the corruption. But it is quite clear to all concerned that the corruption is so rampant that it has [illegible] state and [illegible] any longer [illegible] All this req[illegible]

The corruption in [illegible] to be dealt [illegible] needs new thi[illegible] system will ha[illegible] evolved for the purpose and service rules and regulation will have to be amended to help control the situation effectively.

Next to administ[illegible] which pose[illegible] democratic [illegible] among the [illegible] corrupt practices of casteism, communalism and other sort of parochialism have penetrated into them. The political parties know no bound in quest of power and all sort of politi[illegible] their [illegible] ament change and o[illegible] parties emerge

The idea of a code of conduct for political parties has gained ground but it needs profound thinking over the issue. Ruling party will have to take initiative in closing its doors for defectors and luckily they are in a position to do so because of their strength which is very comfortable in Parliament and State Assemblies. They should not hesitate in taking action to this effect.

Beside this, legal steps will also have to be taken to curb casteism in political matters Communalism does also come within purview of election and code of conduct for political parties.

Political corruption gives also impetus to administrative corruption and political veterans create lobbies in the administration which is of a sort of infilteration. It has assumed a serious proportion and involves secrecy and loyalty problems. This element will have to be purged from the administration and strict measures will have to be taken to cleanse it.

The ... seen it just now, is required to ... the state. Amendments in the ...ations and enactment of new laws will have to be done by the government. A new vigilance network will have to be raised, providing full access to the higher authorities.

The social degeneration however, can be checked effectively with the improvement of economic conditions and enlargement of employment opportunities. Its outward aspect to some extent come within purview of common law and order improvement and it is a matter of effective dealing on part of law and order maintenance machinery.

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## 27. ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

*By mass media* we mean the newspapers, journals and periodicals, having circulation in the masses. As such, it is of the utmost significance in a vast country like India which has got a democratic socio-political order. Though, it is an era of visual publicity but the role of newspapers and *journals is more effective* in formation of public opinion than the socalled 'audio-visual' publicity means.

The government which lasts as long as it enjoys the support and favour of the people in whom the ultimate sovereignty and will of the State is vested, needs formation and mobilization of public opinion for its survival. Hence, the government needs a multi-

channel mass media for the purpose. The information and Broadcasting Ministry publishes a number of bulletin and journals in different languages to publicise the views of government and enunciate its policies and programme. Beside these official publications government sponsored and subsidized publication are also put to circulation to strengthen support to governmental view and mobilize the masses on different issues of higher political values.

The manner in which news items appear in the newspapers reflect the significance of the subject matter and it catches attentions of the public as well as of the government.

The mass media is a very large thing. The newspapers and periodicals which are concerned with treatment and display of news items are called 'press'. The 'National Press' includes all the largely circulated dailies which publish news and views on all national subjects. They are the [illegible] of India, Hindustan Times, [illegible] National Herald along with [illegible] being of local value in most the cases are not counted in the 'national press'. They are treated as supplementaries or of local value. Their volume is smaller and so their coverage. They are important for vernacular press (Urdu and Hindi etc.,) which adopt matter from them or need coverage of the developments.

This national or regional press then is split into a number of sections. The papers representing views of particular section of the people holding particular shade of opinion are called as '*section of press*'. For example the [illegible] a particular political party [illegible] of press'. It may include pap [illegible] or 'regional press.'

It is not alone the government which needs formation and mobilisation of public opinion but all political parties need this media to enlighten [illegible] masses. [illegible] of the properly [illegible] image [illegible] them.

Beside political parties it is need of social organisations also to wield influence in sections of the community.

Until now we have been assessing mass media (newspapers, journals and periodicals etc.,) [illegible] zation of public opinion. But it [illegible] and publicity is even more greater than the former. The items that appear in one or more newspapers carry propaganda and publicity value to that very extent. This is main reason for vast publicity to

public views. As such, they are regarded of higher practical values and government tries to extend much facilities to them.

For betterment of small and medium newspapers government has recently announced its advertisement policy and a wage board has submitted its recommendations regarding employees of these newspapers to the Union Government.

The role of an independent press is one of the foremost essentials for survival of democracy in any country and luckily we realize it to a greater extent.

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## 28. THE PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of any country is the outward reflection of the national ideals and concepts of the state and it is correlated to the tenets of its home policy. In case of India the underlyiny fundaments of its foreign policy are guided evenly by these tenets which are based on mutual friendship and cooperation with all countries, without any discrimination of power blocs, colour or creed, non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries and strengthening the world peace. As such, we are welcomed everywhere and get high regards and appreciations as friends of all and enemy of none.

Our respect in all other countries is very high as a neutral and non-aligned nation and it is the main guideline of our foreign policy without any exception or reservation. Afro-Asian and Latin American countries hold us in esteem. We have been exerting our influence over international affairs in the United Nations and playing a very tremendous role, motivated by our outspoken policy. In Korean conflict Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had condemned imposition of war upon Korean people and had always favoured a negotiated settlement of all dispute and cessation of hostility and restoration of 'Status pro quo'. He exerted his personal influence in restricting the war to Korean peninsula and warned the UN and all other concerned against [illegible] orean war into any major [illegible]
the American bloc.
ies in Korean war
[illegible] Korean prisioners of war and had played [illegible] to the latter. This was the image that we had raised at the time of our infancy as a nation or newly borned state. Our relations with both the Koreas *i.e.*, North Korea and South Korea are equally friendly and we have been maintaining smooth [illegible] ties with both of them. It is [illegible]
two rivals in their
able insofar as the tw

the advertisement of the commercial firms in larger number of newspapers and periodicals with effective mass circulation to promote popular sale and goodwill of the item.

The third value of the mass media is as a source of information. Press releases, statements and announcements are published in newspapers to make it known to the public in general or the particular section of the people.

Beside the values and the purposes that are contained and served by the newspapers or the mass-media, there are certain intrisic values of individual newspapers or periodicals which count for its own respective standard and image in the public.

The treatment which is accorded to a particular news item in a paper differs in its standard from one newspaper to the other. In newspapers of high standards it is technically more sound and relevant than in the newspapers of lesser grade and standard. The comments of a standard newspaper over any event or fact or very precise, sharp and wholesome in its output and they are appreciated very much even by the government and count much in assessment of public opinion by it.

Government of India as well as state governments maintain a permanant office attached to Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and state ministries of Information and Publicity to collect opinions of respective newspapers into the respective national and international matters for clipping. Periodically, there are reviews based on this record, by the government. And it affects governmental policy and programme. The points raised by newspapers in their proper columns and editorially etc., follow by clarification of the concerned Minister or spokesman of the ministry concerned. It is also a recurring feature that the questions based on comments and querries of the newspapers are raised at the floor of the house in Parliament or State Assemblies.

There is no denying the fact that mass media is of greater value information, moulding and mobilisation of public opinion. It plays an active [illegible] It is in the national intere [illegible] the larger interest of d [illegible] ent adopts an attitude of good behaviour towards newspapers and periodicals and reviews its policy towards them time to time. Since Newspaper industry is very large and it is divided into big, medium and small newspapers categories its problems are different. The small and medium newspapers though not running on such sound basis as the big newspapers are, yet they are closely linked up with the masses. Hence, they play an important role in reflection of

public views. As such, they are regarded of higher practical values and government tries to extend much facilities to them.

For betterment of small and medium newspapers government has recently announced its advertisement policy and a wage board has submitted its recommendations regarding employees of these newspapers to the Union Government.

The role of an independent press is one of the foremost essentials for survival of democracy in any country and luckily we realize it to a greater extent.

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## 28. THE PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of any country is the outward reflection of the national ideals and concepts of the state and it is correlated to the tenets of its home policy. In case of India the underlyiny fundaments of its foreign policy are guided evenly by these tenets which are based on mutual friendship and cooperation with all countries, without any discrimination of power blocs, colour or creed, non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries and strengthening the world peace. As such, we are welcomed everywhere and get high regards and appreciations as friends of all and enemy of none.

Our respect in all other countries is very high as a neutral and non-aligned nation and it is the main guideline of our foreign policy without any exception or reservation. Afro-Asian and Latin American countries hold us in esteem. We have been exerting our influence over international affairs in the United Nations and playing a very tremendous role, motivated by our outspoken policy. In Korean conflict Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had condemned imposition of war upon Korean people and had always favoured a negotiated sèttlement of all dispute and cessation of hostility and restoration of 'Status pro quo'. He exerted his personal influence in restricting the war to Korean peninsula and warned the UN and all other concerned against escalation of Korean war into any major arm conflict between communist bloc and the American bloc. At length India was trusted by the rival parties in Korean war with the repatriation of Korean prisioners of war and had played host to the latter. This was the image that we had raised at the time of our infancy as a nation or newly borned state. Our relations with both the Koreas *i.e.*, North Korea and South Korea are equally friendly and we have been maintaining smooth diplomatic ties with both of them. It is recognition of our policy by these two rivals in their conflict which is deeprooted and uncompoundable insofar as the two survive as separate political entities.

Then again, in another conflict of South-east Asia that rose to its height in Vietnam. Our position remained unchanged. We condemned the esclation of war and heavy bombing of civil population areas in North Vietnam by US bombers and supported moves for negotiated settlement between the two and withdrawal of US army from the scene. We have been extending all moral and material support to Vietnamese people without stranding relation with the US on our part.

In west Asia our policy has always been support of the Arab cause, vacation of agression by Israel from Arab territory and recognition of Palestinians right by US and Israel, to live in their home land our Army units have been Stationing in Gaza strip to supervisecease-fire between Israel and Arabs, we have been upholding policy of negotiated settlement of the issues between Israel and [illegible] the resolutions [illegible] ce to that effect by the US which is the main supporter of the Israel and patronizer of the latter.

In all these instances it is quite clear that the principles of our foreign policy are based on world peace, mutual cooperation and negotiated settlement of all disputes between the parties on bilateral basis. Unreservedly, it is pursued by us as sole criterion in all regions of the world. So far these principles are concerned these are very fine and have won recognition throughout the world and we do not by pass them even where we are ourselves as party in any case. We have very firmly upheld our policy in our dispute with Pakistan and China which has been an instance worth quoting and followed by others.

Inspite of all this, we are confronting problems of foreign policy not in context of our conflict with China or Pakistan or any other neighbouring countries but in context of 'maintainability' of our policy in case of certain countries where new developments have taken place. These problems are connected with the new turn of Arab relations followed by Egyptian treaty with Israel causing wedge in their relations with one another, the restrainment of relations between USSR and China.

In connection with Indo-Arab relation we have been very particular to remain indifferent to their mutual bilateral relations. For example we did not bother to indulge in any controversy related to the relations of one Arab country with the other. On our part we took all of them on parity. But after the treaty between Egypt and Israel the mutual relations between Arab countries have been restrained and there is a very dangerous split among them over the attitude towards Palestinian, and policy regarding solution

of their problems. Egypt has succeeded in getting its occupied area vacated. But there is no progress regarding recognition of Palestinian rights by Israel and negotiated settlement through UN, sponsored by US. Onr problem is 'how to maintain our policy with all Arab States when they are split and have shown tendency of pulls in opposite directions. Iraq, Syria, Libiya are of the view that Egyptian line of action is dangerous to Arab unity and every attempt by Egypt is US-Israel sponsored'.

The situation of Middle east, West Asia, Indian Oeean, [illegible] ing explosive gradually. The attitude [illegible] their role in Afghanistan along with [illegible] region is creating problems for India [illegible] Pak-US axis in this region [illegible] cy towards those countries. [illegible] can never be ignored by us because these arms can be used against India only or to the worst against the people of Pakistan who are becoming hostile to military repressive rule in their country and are in a mood to unleash liberation war.

Foreign hand is also being suspected in developments of Assam situation on strong grounds and it has been posing a threat to our territorial integrity. As such, we will have to change our attitude towards our neighbours and US and consequently amendment in our foreign policy is inevitable, sooner or later.

## 29. INDIA'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

India is rather overcautious in its relations with foreign [illegible] spheres.

In Congo we had sent our supervisory forces to maintain peace. In Cyprus, where Turkish and Greek had a flare-up and

there was danger of clash between NATO and Turkish forces, India prevailed in restoring peace.

In South East Asia we have played a tremendous role in Vietnam and Korea and had actively opposed United States indiscriminate bombing in those areas.

As promoter of world peace, the real credit of averting war and maintaining peace goes to India because whenever there is an apprehension of breach of peace due to tension between US and USSR, the non-aligned countries under the guidance of India be-
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It can well be imagined from the fact that economic development of such newly independent countries that have been subjected to ruthless exploitation by imperialist rulers has been possible only due to growth of non-aligned bloc in the world. The treaties of mutual bilateral trade and economic co-operation without any stringe have been promoted due to the strength of non-aligned movement.

India's r... intimately related
to the growth ... is and it has
arisen to asse ... In General
Assembly this bloc holds much influence and it has been influencing
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war between the two power blocs but its role under the guidance of India and other non-aligned countries is of greater value from the point of view of economic development of these countries in two ways. First, by growth of cooperation among these countries based

on mutual benefit. [illegible]
deve [illegible]
tions [illegible]
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had this bloc not emerged so influential in the UN forum. Another benefit of the growth of this bloc is that the US and USSR as well as other western countries, like France, Britain, West Germany, Canada and Australia, are now inclined to help these countries without stringe. It is a benefit of the collective bargaining power. They are unable to impose any political condition to such aids or co-operations.

Non-interference into political affairs of other countries, which has been the basic principle of non-alignment and Punchsheel has now become a 'modus operandi' throughout the world and has strengthened the essence of democracy and 'national will' of governing themselves in their own way. If people have taken the course of overthrowing monarchy in their country they are not subjected to pressure of any kind from the outside world and they get recognition at the UN. All their interests are safe-guarded and their sovereignty upheld One country cannot commit aggression against the other to retaliate. For instance, when Cuba under the leadership of Dr. Fidel Castro broke-up with US, US could retaliate mainly because the non-aligned bloc was active and it was upheld that it is their sovereign right to do so. In a number of Afro-Asian countries monarchy has been replaced by democratic order and they are protected simply because there is an active and strong group in the UN to uphold their cause.

India has been [illegible]

In Cyprus too, we had the same plea and played a tremendous role in aversion of war over the issue.

[illegible]

moves [illegible]
Mobil [illegible]
due to [illegible]
moves [illegible]

being similarly opposed as of dire consequences to disturb the entire region.

India has been play [illegible] member of UN and has been activ [illegible] of growth of population [illegible] The UN.

On instance of India, the EEC has been considering co-operation and assistance to the neutral and non-aligned developing countries.

Thus, India's role in the world forum and outside it, is of the promoter of world peace [illegible] the newly independent countries, [illegible] movement throughout [illegible] the internal affairs of any country.

## 30. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA

The 'Justice' has been a theme of Philosophers and social scientists in almost all the ages and the respective concept has been the focal point of their theories connected with the socio-political order of the society. While the concept of justice, whether absolute or relative, is controversial, its deliverance is rather more difficult and complicated affair. However, the administration of justice being the main objective and responsibility of all the modern states, covers the system of the courts of law connected with the conduct of deliverance of justice, civil and criminal law, the basis of substantiating charge or offence and procedures of the court proceedings.

We, in India, have a judicial structure and the basic civil and criminal laws on pattern of the Great Britain and justice is administered according to the law enforced and applicable in the manner and conformity of the English standard. There is nothing objectionable or wrong in it. Formulation of a comprehensive and uniformed law has since been a credit of that nation as rulers of the largest part of the globe and even after contraction of their empire to the geographical limits of their territory this law is still operative in all such parts of the world that once had constituted the Great British Empire and were incorporated in it. It is one of the greatest contribution of the English people to the civilization of the world that has been preserved by the nations of the world without prejudice. The only exceptions to it are the socialist countries of Europe and such Muslim Countries where Islamic laws are enforced and applicable in civil and criminal respects.

According to the law enforced as such the justice is delivered on basis of compactness of evidence in criminal cases and on basis of admissible proof relevant to the claim in civil cases. Next to it, the deliverence of justice by any competent court depends upon the facts brought to the knowledge of court, in relevance to specific points that are referred to raised to determine the justice in the particular case.

The study of the administration of justice as to how it is done in this country covers the system of courts of law, the system of prosecution, the procedures of trials and proceedings and the authority of law enforcing agency of state responsible to maintain peace and law and order in the country.

[illegible] administration [illegible] courts with [illegible] civil courts, criminal courts, special courts and tribunals, including administrative courts and Revenue courts etc.

The responsibility of administration of justice comes within purview and authority of the state. At the top of the structure of law courts is High Court of the respective state and under it are the district courts. Under every district court are the sub-divisional courts each for a sub-division of the district or the Tehsil. Beside them there is magistracy in respect of criminal cases at the lower ladder in the districts and for civil matter there are Munsif Courts at the sub-divisional or Tehsil level.

The civil case originates in the court of Musif or Munsif— [illegible] erefrom it goes to sub-judge [illegible] Against the decision of the [illegible] Court for all civil matters. [illegible] y state and depending upon [illegible] filed in Supreme [illegible] the country and [illegible] ourt of the status. [illegible] vision and special grounds for delay may also be considered by the concerned court.

In land and revenue cases the first court or the court of origin is the Tehsildar's court, then Deputy Collector and collector of the distric [illegible] Revenue Authority's order [illegible] ner and then in the High [illegible] merits and qualifications of the particular case.

In respect of criminal cases, the case originates in the court of SDM in the first instance. Then in appeal it goes to the session

judge's court. In cases of heinous crimes where state is the prosecutor, like murder, dacoity or rape etc. the case after preliminary hearing is committed to session judge's court by the SDM after appropriating the charges under proper sections of the I.P.C. Session Judge is the full authority in case of crimes as trial court or as appellate court and is empowered to award transportation to life, or death penalty. Appeal against an order or award of this Court can be filed in High Court of the State. In cases under Section 302 (premeditated murder) appeal can be filed in Supreme Court which is the highest Court of law of the country in this respect.

Even after the confirmation of sentence of death by the Supreme Court, there is provision for Mercy Appeal to the President who may or may not accept the plea. He may set aside the sentence of death or may transform it into lesser punishment.

The procedure to seek justice by the citizens is prescribed by rules and regulations into the related matter. For instance, in civil matters the plaintiff has to assert his claim by means of a notice to the opposite party. And after expiry of the period the plaint is submitted to the court in a prescribed manner. The court issues notices to both the parties for appearance and directs the respondent or respondents to file a written statement in the court into the related matter. The proceedings go on in accordance with prescribed law, rules and regulations of the court and all this takes its own course.

While in the cases of crimies, citizens, seeking justice by the court have to complain to the police station. If the nature of complaint, is of a cognizable offence and comes within purview of police intervention, police after due inquiry would tackle it and refer it to the proper court in accordance with the prescribed law, and rules and regulations of criminal proceedings. The investigation officer puts the matter through its prosecuter to the court and after institution of the case proceedings take place in accordance with law. When the offence is minor or does not come under purview of police intervention, after lodging FIR the justice seeker may go to court straight with a complaint for remedy. In all the cases, in the meanwhile if there is apprehension of breach of peace, the police may register a case under section 107/150 or 151 and bound one or both the parties for observance of peace and good conduct.

But let it be a civil case or a criminal one the justice seeker has to avail the services of legal practitioners for the purpose. Though, it is not a compulsion by law to contract a practitioner for the purpose but due to technicalities of law and court proceedings, the justice seeker is compelled to appear with his counsel.

In case where the defence requires legal competance and the party is unable to engage a lawyer the court of its own or on request

ask the government to provide the services at its cost. Because, the verdict or deliverance of justice should precede with full opportunity of defence legal and other facilities within authority and purview of the court assume importance and are consequential.

Under the established norms and procedures of courts of law role of legal practitioners and police are of bearings upon adminis- [illegible] has been realized of the procurement of cheaper legal advice and assistance at different levels. Seeking justice on part of citizens implies cost and the economic condition of ordinary citizen is very poor. That's why those who are not well off can not avail justice properly. Courts are also empowered to admit a civil suit without prepayment [illegible] uper. But the counsel [illegible] being elaborated on part of Lawyers associations and social organizations to make procurement of legal services to defenders at the lesser cost and in a convenient and amenable manner.

The main problems connected with administration of justice are the inordinate delay in deliverence of the verdicts of the court partly due to lengthy procedure and room for tactical manoeuvers on part of the counsels to lengthen the period, higher cost of seeking justice by the citizens and room for distortion of evidence and manipulation on part of police. In this respect the American procedure of prosecution is appreciable. Then, the court on presentation of case examines in the first instance the propriety of the charges and its admissibility and register it for trial or rejects then and there. In that way there is no room for waste of time and energy of the court as well as of the parties in appropriation of the case. Where in India after years of trial sometime court has to dismiss the case on various grounds.

Beside normal procedure for proceeding of the civil and criminal cases, there is provision for writ petition in the high court if it involves violation of fundamental rights of the citizens. Interim injunctions and stay or restraint orders in order to save the interest of the seeker of justice are also provided under procedure.

Social justice is a very tough problem to deal with but since there is realization of the problems in the way of administration of justice on part of all concerned it may be hoped that some progress towards betterment will certainly be made, sooner or later.

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# 31. TRADE UNIONISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS

Trade Unionism in India and elsewhere has got impetus due to the progress of communist movement at international and national levels. It is simply because the communist movement has based itself on proletariat and it has been the main front of regular activities of all the units of the communist parties in every country, including ours. During mid-twenties the trade union activities had started in India in centres of the industries like Ahmedabad, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Kanpur, Nagpur and Cochin. In Punjab, Lahore, Lyallpur, Okara (all in Pakistan now) Amritsar and Ludhiana were the centres where in all the factories and mills workers unions were organized by the communist cadre. During, those days, there were smaller unions, seperately organized in factories. In Bombay the Girni Kamgar Union was however, a sort of labour front of all the textile workers and had developed its own cadre to organize unions in different mills and factories of the city. In ports like Bombay, Madras, Cochin and Calcutta, Dock Workers were organized. These were the days when the workers had no rights practically. There was no limit of working hours, no fixed wage rates, no facilities and unions were not recognized. Mill owners and police were united in crushing unions and unionists. It was very difficult to organize an union of workers in any industry ordinarilly. But since the organizers were also not the ordinary stuff but political cadre and ideologically very sound and mature they could manage it perfectly well. One retired civil service English man Mr. Bradley has been the main architect of Trade Unionism in India and the cadre of All India Trade Union Congress (A-ITUC) include Mr. S.A. Dange Mr. P.C. Joshi, Mr. B.S. Ranadive, Mr. S.S. Yusuf, Mr. Ashok Bose, Mr. Sheovarma and Scores of others drawn from different parts of the country.

In course of time the trade unionism in India has attained a sort of permanency and has contributed a lot to the improvement of the condition of the industrial workers. Workers' rights have been recognized, working conditions have been improved, minimum wages have been fixed in different industries, labour welfare has assumed importance, all kind of facilities are available to workers and labour legislation has ensured protection of their rights. Right to strike has been recognized and union is compulsory in every industrial establishment. Registered unions or Union affiliated to registered Trade Unions are recognized by the management. Beside fixed wage rates in different industries, projects are shared by the workers in form of bonus and the culmination of Trade Unionism is the workers participation in management. It is all aimed at improvement of industrial relations.

At the State level there are labour ministries at centre and in states, there is a special labour court to adjudicate in disputes between management and labour and also a conciliation channel under the labour commissioner. If the latter fails in settling a dispute between a worker and the management the matter is referred for adjudication to the labour court.

The situation of today is a lot of difference in comparison to the condition of the working class during British rule. All this improvement is due to the Trade Union movement in the country. Beside it, trade unionism has contributed a lot, directly and indirectly, in several other respects also that too, is not insignificant. The trade unionism has been repercussive on the conditions of the government employees as well. Though, they do not have any trade union by name but their association are as good as any trade union and their functioning is more or less on parity with the former. They also resort to strike at final stage to press their demands and negotiate with the government. When necessary they go to court for remedy of their grievances and seek justice into the respective matter.

Trade unionism in India which at its outset was the main front of communist activities, has now in course of time, crossed the barriers and today there are several trade unions of All India character. AITUC has its rivals in the form of UTUC, INTUC, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat etc. This multiplicity of trade unions has been motivated with political ends But there are trends of organizing unions on basis of respective industries, like Textile Workers Union, Railway Men's Federation, Tannery Workers Union and so on. Attempts are being made to organize one union in one establishment. But it has not succeeded so far. There are different political parties under whose auspices these trade unions are working. For example, Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) belongs to the Congress (I) Party, AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress) to the Communist Party of India, HMS (Hind Mazdoor Sabha) and HMP (Hind Mazdoor Panchayat) to the former socialist parties, United Trade Union Congress to the RSP and allied groups, CITU to the *CPM and so on. These trade unions are recognized* and represent this country in international forums of the labour like I.L.O., AITUC is aligned to World Federation of Trade Union Congresses of which Mr. Dange has been vice-President.

It is quite clear by now that Trade Unionism has contributed vastly to the cause of working class and has been effective in determining it a part of national policy.

Beside this, it has helped in coordination of the world trade union movement and has interlinked Indian Working class with the workers of the entire world.

One thing very important to be noted as contribution of trade unionism in India is [illegible] dynamic [illegible] king class. As a its move [illegible] working class and country. [illegible] working class as a whole has been influencing shaping of events of political repercussions in the country as an organized political force. It has indirectly helped in fostering class consciousness among other classes of the Indian people.

Since working class of any country is an organized political force, capable of planning dynamic role in political developments and trade unions assume importance in national movements, rival political parties are in a bid to capture trade unions or otherwise enhance their influence.

In India the present situation in context of trade unionism is that of automation. Trade unionism has established firmly here in such a manner that it has become a sort of national politics itself. It is so because the working class has gone far advance and other classes are lagging far behind.

The ruling party through Indian National Trade Union Congress is trying to enhance its influence in the working class and win its confidence. The parties that base themselves on the movement of working class, like communist parties for instance, are trying to mould trade union movement to interlink it with the masses. But they have not been able to bridge the gap that has been created on account of 'protracted trade-unionism' and Parliamentary politics etc.

It may well be [illegible] working cla [illegible] ical purposes that only when [illegible] national politics becomes the [illegible] of the society and developments in this country [illegible] future the trend of political class, intelligensia and the peasentry. depends upon the unity of the working

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## 32. CASE FOR PROHIBITION AS STATE POLICY

There is a strong case for prohibition in India on grounds of social reforms and public health. Mahatma Gandhi was of the view that alcoholism should be banned throughout country as a matter of

state policy because the state of his ideals should be a welfare state and it should attempt on moral reforms of the citizens as a welfare state. Wine, as we know, is the root cause of all social degenerations, evils and crimes and it is very injurious to the health of people. [illegible]

[illegible] which the rotten multitude of Indian people are accustomed and it is even more dangerous and injurious to the health than wine. But, we have been speaking about alcoholism because ninety per cent of the intoxicating people use it and ten per cent use a variety of other intoxicants like opium, charas and narcotic drugs—that is the latest and the strongest mean of intoxication in the modern society.

Since, vast multitudes of Indian Community, irrespective of caste and creed are addicted to alcoholism state has been concerned with it and prohibition has been emerging as a topic of the day several times. As a matter of state authority, the excise has been in the concurrent list. The wine, however, is the subject of State and so the prohibition comes within its purview and authority. There are parts of the country where toddy and 'Saindhi' are the natural products and are equally strong intoxicants like wine, which is distilled in the factories. The state governments have been raising state revenue by levying excise duty on sale of the wine and extraction of toddy and saindhi. Hence, it is subject to the control of government and the particular department entrusted with the matter is called excise department which is a revenue department of the state.

They control production and sale of these items. Illicit distilling of wine and the indigenous products are strictly prohibited. But it has been carried on in every place by the people illegally and has been flourishing due to corruption of police and the excise staff, side by side by the authorized manufacture and sale of distilled wine of the factories which is standardized.

After independence prohibition was actually considered by the government of India to be pursued throughout country in view of the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi and his advice. But it was observed that we cannot prevent people from it due to indigenous and illegally manufactured wine and alternate sources of intoxication. Because, people have become addicted to it and it has given rise to illegal [illegible]

realized through excise on manufacture and sale of wine and toddy etc. by the state government. How it can be dismantled without any good to the people and the society at large and losing state revenue.

In 1948, parts of Gujarat, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh were brought under prohibition. But it was not successful, except in losing state revenue. Again, it was decided to introduce prohibition in 1958 in the selected parts of different states, and continued for about 5 years. There was no change in the situation, except to the contrary impetus to the allicit trading of Desi Wine and heavy loss of state revenue plus huge expenses in the form of salaries, allowances and other unavoidable heads under the preventive programme over staff etc.

For the last time, during the regime of Janata Party headed by Mr. Morarji Desai, attempts were made to take up prohibition as the state policy because Mr. Desai was himself staunch protagonist of it and had introduced it in Bombay during his tenure of office there. But the move was not favoured by the states, with one or two exceptions. Hence, finally an all India Policy of Prohibition was ruled out. The composure of Janata Party including the cabinet were split over the issue.

Now, there is no hope for prohibition to be adopted as state policy, either at the central level or at the level of states. As already pointed out, it is now the confirmed opinion of the experts that prohibition would just cause loss of state revenue. People cannot be prevented from alcoholism by means of law and it is impossible to ban the manufacture and sale of illicit wine by any mean.

That's why instead of *prohibition* now, the state has resorted to the policy of *restriction* into the respective matter. The sphere of control over the use of wine has also been widened.

Under the new excise policy the graded wine is being manufactured and sold under license. Then, the Desi Wine is also sold on '*Theka Depots*' under strict contrc
Dry days have been increased.
forbidden, except the licensed bar
and Restaurants. Special licenses have been issued to such establishments, where foreigners and visitors lodge. They can use wine in their rented rooms only and not openly in dining halls or in the lawns of the Hotels. From a wine shop one can purchase wine, sealed in bottles against cash payment for which a memo will be issued to the customer. But he cannot use it there.

If a person is found vagabound in drunken condition he is taken to police custody and arrested by the police. If any one is found

drunken on duty he is suspended and dealt with departmentally or by police or by both.

From realistic point of view government is justified in adopting present attitude of *restriction* on alcoholism in place of *prohibition*. For a while, the state may be prepared to forego this source of revenue and adjust its budget otherwise without any difficulty. But the question is that of social reforms which needs initiative of the people themselves.

Hence, [illegible] tude and takes to enlarge [illegible] nd and there are decisive [illegible] organizations on the other [illegible] and other forms of intoxications, in course of time, desirable results can be had.

It may be effective if on public level drinking is abandoned in social functions, especially, on eve of marriages and such festive parties. The government may strengthen it by tightening its restrictions further. Women organizations may also play a vital role in this social move. It may be developed into a national move by the mutual cooperation of the social and political organizations.

Sarvodya Ashram has been raising voice against [illegible] has been active on this front [illegible] better done if under their [illegible] national scale against alcoholism treating it as a national issue, putting aside all party politics and political demagogy.

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## 33. STRIVING FOR A SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

India has been pursuing a policy of Socialistic pattern in reconstruction of the country. This very ideal of the society is based on the concepts of [illegible] change. The socialism ushers in any country through a process of revolution in which under the hegemony of the working class, was against the exploiters and vested interest is waged and it finally overthrows the regime. The economic order of the country is [illegible] ective or cooperative [illegible] onalized. But where [illegible] -political order of the [illegible] ans of legislation and [illegible] of greatest number it is not the 'ism' but the pattern—*i.e.* not socialism but the 'socialistic pattern'.

In India we did not have a revolution. At the culmination of our national movement against the foreign rule transfer of power was effected by the Britishers because they had reached the right conclusion that they won't be able to carry on further. The main target of our national movement was to end foreign domination and the vanguard of the national movement was the Indian National Congress organizing and leading a mass movement against Britishers, based on non-violence and civil disobedience. It was more a national front than a party

With this difference between the 'Socialism' and 'Socialistic pattern' and the character and objective of our national movement, it is quite natural that we should be curious to know, about the back ground and emergence of socialistic pattern as the objective of the national policy and the factors behind it.

It may be noted that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had inspired socialism and was very much influenced by the socialist revolution of the Soviet Union. After independence he headed the national governments and 'father of the nation' (Mahatma Gandhi) and his colleagues had virtually left the organization. Mahatma Gandhi had advised to disband the Indian National Congress after attaining freedom as he was of the view that the objective on the party and its targets have been achieved. So, Mr. Nehru was left alone in the Indian National Congress alongwith few seniors like Maulana Azad, to lead the National Government and use his discretion to give any dimension to the country. When he was in a position to think over it, he decided to choose the Socialistic pattern for the development of the country. Beside his inspiration for socialist ideals there are other factors leading to his decision. He had drawn closer to the top heirarchy of Soviet Union and China on one hand and the emerging nations of Africa and Asia on the other. The former were connected with the world communist movement and the latter were in need of an ideal to strive for and achieve 'in socio-economic terms'. In the meanwhile fundamental change in outlook and behaviour of the communist countries' leadership had taken place. They amended their manifesto in both the respects—*i.e.* in respect of the international movement and in respect of the individual non-communist countries. They reconciled themselves to the idea of 'socialist transformation' without precondition of undergoing process of bloody revolution. Mr. Nehru was just in between the two and as leader of this vast country found it in the national interest to put the country on Socialistic pattern.

He knew all right the conditions to achieve his objective and tried to reorganize Congress Party on that line and also elaborated the State policy to serve the purpose. Since he was all alone in the party and had no useful partners to carry on his mission he could not

reorganize party on that line. But so far the state policy was concerned he carried it out meaningfully.

Nationalization, Planned development, advancement of industry, modernization of agriculture, emphasis on cooperative movement, labour legislation for protection of the rights of the working class and such other reforms of socio-economic values were carried on at his instance to provide socialistic pattern to this country.

. Since on party front he was unable to carry out his mission all alone he was helpless and had no alternative except the bureaucratic administrative machinery to be relied upon. And the only thing that is lacking in context of progress of the country is the absence of a party of the calibre and potentials of the Bolshevik who could perform vigilence as a mass based and well knit party and guide of the government.

During his life time Mr. Nehru attempted repeatedly to change the character of the party but could not succeed due to the aforesaid reasons.

After him the state policy continued to be on socialistic pattern and Mrs. Indira Gandhi within purview and spheres of it carried it out forward at length. Agricultural reforms (land reforms) were pursued in states, ceilings were fixed, bonded labour was abolished, rural indebtedness was liquidated. In the process of striving for socialistic pattern she has been seeking amendment in constitution. Sometimes it has been restrained by the court which simply reflected the conflict of law with the constitutional amendment. Because, as we know neither the constitution was of socialist character nor the law. It may be noted that the existing law is more or less on British pattern in respect of civil and criminal procedure codes.

The main point remains the same that as a fundament this objective can be achieved only by providing ruling party with a mass base organizationally, by forging an alliance of all the socialist forces that believe in it and are ready to promote its cause (within and outside the Parliament), by declaring national issues such problems and subjects that come within purview of socialistic pattern and fresh [illegible] fulfil aspira- [illegible] to national [illegible] d, control of [illegible]

The set back that has caused in [illegible] progress due to a gap of about three years [illegible] certainly take sometime to make-up, but [illegible] necessary for the purpose.

# 34. JUSTIFICATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Indian constitution in its original form was an unique constitution in which the nectars of the constitutions of the world were assimiliated. The nation and its leadership felt a sort of pride in it. But as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said constitution of any country is sacred for the nation yet it could be amended to suit the need of the people time to time. Therefore, it should never be so rigid that it becomes difficult to amend it and it should not be so flexible that it lacks strength. That unique constitution is now being frequently amended. There are some people who hold the view thatit is better to change the constitution all together than to amend it. But there are others who hold the view that amendments are better than total replacement. The main point for consideration is that the amendments are taking place as per necessity felt by the government in implementation of the state policy to deliver the good. The main point of criticism is that the state power is being accumulated and concentrated into hands of executive and gradually the character of the state is becoming totalitarian.

The controversy is untenable in so far as we are not clear about the aims and objects of the state and the pattern of national reconstruction.

The provisions for constitutional amendments are mainly laid in article 368 according to which the bill for the purpose can be moved in either house of the Parliament. The bill can be passed by the [illegible] than 2/3 [illegible] aforesaid [illegible] will stand [illegible]

Though article 368, as mentioned afore, is the main provision for constitutional amendments, yet amending procedure is not confined to it alone. President and the Governors, for instance, may use [illegible] ominate two [illegible] mmunity, if [illegible] the single person. President can also entrust functions related to the executive of Union to any government or its officers. Parliament may create a new state by separating territory from existing one or two state or by [illegible] y present and [illegible] ss a resolution [illegible] ate concerning [illegible] of this state [illegible] assembly in the normal course.

There are certain subjects in which not only double majority is required (majority of the members of the House and the 2/3 members, present and voting) but also the ratification of the bill by the states—minimum one half of the existing states. There are the subjects related to the preservation of federal character of the country. The subjects within this purview are manner of the Presidential election, the extent of the executive powers of the Union Government and the states, powers of the Union Judiciary and the State Courts, setting up of High Courts in the states, the representation of the states in the Parliament.

There are more provisions connected with the amendments of the constitution in case where the two Houses of Parliament disagree with the sponsored bill.

For all practical purposes however, the Supreme Court of India is the guardian of the constitution. The Union Government may refer any matter to the opinion of the Supreme Court to obtain clarity on any point into the related matter.

As it has already been mentioned afore in this context, amendment, in the constitution is provided and justified on the basis of the necessity felt in implementation of the objective policy of the state to deliver good to the people.

There have been uproars in the Parliament and outside it by the opposition political parties on occasions of presenting amendment bills repeatedly. But so far the action of the government is concerned it can be examined on merits and it can be easily found how far it is justified.

The main uproarious scenes were witnessed when the constitutional amendment Bill 38 related to the proclamation of emergency in the country or a part thereof by the President or Governors, Lt. Governors, was placed beyond competence of the court. This bill effecting amendment in article 113, 213, 239 (B), 352, 356, 359, and 360 received Presidential assent on August 1, 1975.

It was necessary in view of the deterioration of law and order situation where the working of the constitutionally elected representative bodies was paralysed and the normal functioning of the administrative machinery had almost come to standstill. Then again the 39th Amendment Bill was moved by virtue of which the court had lost competence in disputes related to the election of the President, the Vice-President, Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Prime Minister. This bill also had got assent of the President on

August, 1, 1975. Similarly, 40th Amendments Bill had sought immunity of the President of India, Prime Minister of India and the State Governors from criminal proceedings during and after their tenure of office and from civil proceeding for acts committed during tenure of office.

The major amendment bill was the 44th which after assents of the President has now become constitution Amendment Act (42). It contains 59 clauses, dealing with the life of Lok Sabha, Powers of Parliament, Judiciary and the Prime Minister, citizens' duties and Anti-national activities.

This bill was a culmination of an era of 'peace and progress'. The incorporation of citizens duties in the constitution and suspension of the 'rights of citizens' rendering it injusticiable in course of an emergency.

This amendment enhances term of the Parliament and State Assemblies from 5 to 6 years, empowers the President to proclaim emergency in the country or part thereof, enables the President to adopt or modify the amended constitution within a period of two years from the date of assent to provide facility for giving effect to the provisions The main and significant contention of this amendment is providing precedence to the Directive Principles of state policy over the fundamental rights. The High Courts have been debarred from declaring constitutional validity of the central laws.

This major amendment is termed as 'Magna Carta' of the rights of Indian people by Mrs. Gandhi herself.

It is more significant at the same time, that by an amendment to the preamble of Indian constitution the state instead originally being 'sovereign Democratic Republic' has now been declared as Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic. Since India has been pursuing a policy of socialistic pattern of society as its sole criterion for national progress through planned development and directives of State Policy have been the guideline of it, it was quite necessary that in view of objectives it should assume precedence over fundamental rights of the citizens. Because, the character of the society is not classless and there is no equality among citizens in socio-economic terms, how social justice could be otherwise ensured to the bulk of Indian people who need socialistic treatment for their betterment at hand of state.

By amendment to preamble and in all other respects, a sort of clarity to the objectives of the state policy has been sought to be

provided and also its implementation without being stranded or side tracked by the wealthier and influential section of the people. Because, democracy without socialism is a farce insofar as the character of the society is class-ridden and there is wide range of socio-economic disparity in the country. Even justice cannot be ensured to the bulk of Indian people without bringing it within their range of approach and economic capacity. In view of making social justice meaningful to the bulk of citizens, facilities to the economically depressed in this process were a must that have been sought to be provided by an amendment incorporated in it.

Another important amendment in the constitution is in respect of definition of anti-national activities and anti-national association. Closely examining, it is rather honest to do so to provide clarity to the concept and doing so, it puts limitations on government against drift to political motive in going into action on that plea.

The sole criterion for justification of constitutional amendments is the necessity for it in view of the objectives of state policy and ensure its implementation effectively.

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## 35. NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS AS STATE POLICY

Banking nowadays is an organized function and is regulated in this country by the Reserve Bank of India which is bank of the Government and an Statutory institution. It is very important in creating and determining volume of credit in the country.

In modern economy banks are the backbone on which the entire economic structure of the society is wrought. Hence, in order to promote the well being of the people of the country in economic terms and growth of industry and trade the role of the banks is of primary importance. Banks function under very rigid rules and regulation supervised by the RBI (Reserve Bank of India). On occasions when the State Government or the Union Government needs money for expenditure it is provided by the banks under prescribed rules and regulations. State Bank of India as an agent of RBI uudertakes a number of functions for the government Including 'receipts' of government revenue in various forms and issue of government bonds and security bonds etc.

Inspite of the RBI control on banks, it is not possible to divert these institutions to contribute towards the economic reconstruction of the country as per objectives of the state policy. It is within the purview of the respective banks to finance and advance loans to the people as per their own policy and schemes. Being under rigid control of the RBI their lending to the public is required to the satisfaction of terms and conditions approved by the former for the purpose

but under no circumstances they can be directed to lend to the particular persons or group of persons desired by the government to avail of the facility under any scheme of the state. In the normal course government will have to borrow money itself and advance it to the persons or groups of the persons for the purpose approved by it.

As a result the banks in India were interested in investment and finance to the large industrial and business establishments of the country. They provided long terms loans to private limited concerns. Usually, the method of overdraft was used for short term loans or finance or long term industrial investments were made by them. Hence, when government decidedly took up the cause for improvement of the condition of the common people, especially peasantry and artisans. The scheme of self-employment for the unemployed required assistance in term of finance. The government at first tried to enlarge cooperative movement. But due to the inheritance of weakness in respect of the success of the movement much headway was not made.

Then, it was finally resorted to by the government to nationa- [illegible] uld these institutions to [illegible] the community. Twelve [illegible] was nationalized in 1968 by the Government of India.

These banks played an important role in providing loans and finance to self-employment schemes and different categories of loans finance were made available to low income group, artisans, cottage industries, petty-businessmen and establishment under the special schemes for the purpose.

Rehabilitation schemes were facilitated by State Bank of India and Rickshaw Pullers, auto-drivers, ITI trained technicians were provided finance as desired and instructed by the Government.

In general finance in India is liberally available from banks to large concerns for industry and trade on long term and medium term basis to the tune of lakhs. But the petty businessmen, artisan and technicians were out of the scope of facilities of bank loan. The nationalized bank came forward to assist them to facilitate implementation of the state policy of rehabilitation and housing.

Beside providing finance to the urban low income group of peoples, the main problem which was distressing for the government was to provide facilities of finance/loan to the peasantry to improve the conditions of the agrarian community. Because, it was the common sense that the poor peasantry was unable to improve its

condition without finance and the banks were not interested normally in assisting them.

With the nationalization of banks the branches were opened on a large scale in the rural areas and loans for sinking tubewells, purchase of farming implements and tools were made available on easy instalments. Some growth of rural industry could be facilitated due to them. Rural technicians got an opportunity to get finance to run their own enterprise.

Of late the strength of these nationalized banks has been raised to 20 now. And by this action about 90 per cent of the Indian Banks have been nationalized.

There has been a kind of criticism over this step of the government and some quarters have raised question as to why the foreign banks in India have not been nationalized. The case for and against nationalization of foreign banks may constitute a separate topic for deliberation but the most common thing to be understood in this [illegible] country. The [illegible] implementation [illegible] the nationalization of foreign bank would have been of wrong import on procurement of finance from abroad to Indian traders and government. Moreover, foreign banks have no impact on national money market and volume of credit in this country.

The working of the nationalized bank has been subjected to criticism however, on several accounts. It is said that the proficiency of these banks has been marred after nationalization. They are not sympathetic towards the general public and have been deficient in discipline and behaviour. It is also argued that they are not sincere in outlook and behaviour toward the government. They work slow and there are grievances to the public against them.

As a matter of fact this criticism contains particles of truth in different respects and needs special attention of the government to deal with the situation. But under no circumstances, it may be carried to the effect that the step is wrong or ill-advised.

Thus, the nationalization of banks in India as a matter of state policy is an effective and necessary step to implement the policy of socialist transformation and planned development, especially to improve the lot of the economically oppressed and the down trodden.

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# 36. INDO-ARAB RELATIONS

This is very significant to note that India's relations with all the Arab countries have been amicable from the very beginning. The main reason for this is of course in the scruples of our foreign policy. We have been very particular in maintaining most friendly norms, dissociating ourselves from entering into any sort of polemics and refraining ourselves from any controversy concerning inter-Arab relation. That is why we are on friendly terms with all of them while their o[illegible] like Saudi Arabian and Eg[illegible] relatio[illegible] Arab [illegible] first division is between monarchic and democratic states. There is a tussle going on in certain states to overthrow the monarchy and replace it by democratic socialist order. There is division over the Palestinian issue. Egypt has entered friendly relations with Israel and it has caused controversy and split among the members of Arab League. A parallel organisation has been made by Egypt. Jordan and other Arab countries had split over the status of Palestinian Liberation Organisation. Jordan, where the Palestinian are in majority over the native population had not recognised PLO, till as late as the sole representative body of the Palestinian.

India has been very cautious in its relations with all Arab countries and has refrained as a matter of policy from any controversy of the Arabs. As a result we are friends of all Arabs and unconcerned over their internal differences.

Our motive is friendship with all Arab countries, conroversy with none of them. Beside this motto the main objective of Indo-Arab policy is to support wholeheartedly Arab cause. The main contention being unreserved and unconditional support to promote and strengthen Arab cause we have been the staunch supporters of PLO and solidly supporting Arabs against Israel at all levels.

[illegible] full diplomatic [illegible]

Beside them there is League of Arab States mission also, enjoying full diplomatic facilities. On all occasions we take full security measures to protect Arab diplomats and their functionaries in this country.

Arab countries in their turn are also friendlier to us and we have good volume of trade with them. *With a number of Afro-Asian Arab* countries we have concluded economic and technical co-operation agreements. On public level also skilled, semi-skilled labour, technicians, engineers and doctors are allowed to be recruited from this country for employment in Arab countries.

On part of Arab countries there is no discrimination in this *recruitment*.

Saudia Arabia is a good example to quote for our amicable relations with the country. Every year we send a team of doctors and other medical personnels with pilgrims of Haj. Pilgrims to Haj from India constitute one of the largest group from any country of the world. Government of India extends all facilities to them and special arrangements are made on this occasion by Railways and Shipping and Aviation establishments.

The main thing to be noted in context of Indo-Arab relations is that we have been actively pursuing a policy of upholding cause of Palestinian State—a homeland for Palestinian community who are at [illegible] Arab [illegible] Our representa- [illegible] Palestinian [illegible] US to exert its pressure upon Israel to agree for a Palestinian State. We have been at the top of protesters against bombing of Lebanon by Israel, Vacation of Arab territory and negotiated settlement of Palestinian issue and territorial disputes with neighbouring Arab countries.

*There has been an attempt on part of Janata Government to* amend the policy of our country and provide an access to Israel which has failed as it was alien to the fundaments of our Indo-Arab policy. We have been scrupulously refraining from two things as a matter of policy. First is that we are opting out of any controversy that is ever emerged between two Arab countries. We are not scolding Egypt for her treaties with Israel like other Arab countries. Secondly, we have been treating all Arab countries on parity and do not make any discrimination on any ground. We are firm in our support to the cause of Palestinians.

It may further be reminded that Indo-Arab policy is the 'best blend of our tenets of Punchsheel' and it may be quoted as an example worldover.

This is the main reason however, that Arab countries have high regards for us in all matters of bilateral interest. We had sent our contigents to Gaza strip and other Arab territories to supervise armistice in those areas as member of Neutral Nations Commission.

out territorial integration of the country without which the national independence was just a farce. Sardar V.B. Patel, the then Dy. Prime Minister and Home Minister of India, was very bold in taking police action in Hyderabad in 1948 and earlier Indian Army was sent to Kashmir to defend that part from Pakistani tribal in vaders backed by Pakistan Army. Internal Communal riots, migration of people and liquidation of these states were the topmost internal problem that Indian had faced coincided with the independence from the British imperialists (from 1947 to 1948). A part of Kashmir is still under occupation of Pakistan and there is a case of Kashmir in the list of United Nation's Security Council. The situation would have certainly been worse had Pandit Nehru not sent Indian Army to [illegible] kh Abdullah and [illegible] ole in saving the [illegible] ashmir, there was [illegible] Conference was [illegible]

So, these were the experiences of the Indian Nation at the very outset of its career—the one that necessitated surgical treatment to survive.

Then in 1950 the inspirations of the people were embodied in the constitution of independent India. The main pillars of it were secularism, democracy and social justice—the main objectives for which Indian people have been waging relentless war of independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Since Jawaharlal was impressed by the Soviet Union and inspired socialist ideas, directives of state policy were added to it.

Though these are not justiciable but are the broader objectives to be pursued by the government in its policies and programmes.

The constitution makers have not spared the least in incorporation of the popular inspirations and the noblest ideals in the constitution of the country and the nectar of a number of the constitutions of the world has been added to it. Meritoriously, Indian constitution therefore, is the finest blend of the world's polities.

But in course of time within the span of thirty years only this constitution has been amended frequently in view of the national urges in respect of different clauses. Though a number of changes have been made but basically the character of the constitution remains the same.

The 'maxim of the democracy' of a government 'of the people by the people and for the people' has been cherished in this vast

country and its proof are the mid-term polls of state assemblies that have been taking place . . verdict of the common people. But the . . achieve the objectives of the democracy i.e. the greatest number'.

It is the main theme of any political ideology the greatest good of the greatest number is sought alternate forms and frames by different . . democratic community the majority party in Pa government to rule the country and enjoy the . and furtherance of its ideology.

The political experience that has been the . people is very significant and it reflects the . politics and growth of the political consciousness . 28 years of political life of the nation it is . . that people want progress which is material and slogans or mere ideology. Stagnation is not . the nation.

People had unshakable belief in the ideals of and social justice and had vested power in achieve them for the first time in 1952 and for the third time in 1957 and 1962 respectively. In . was a sort of reaction and the opposition . alliance on basis of minimum programme as an and in about 10 states there have been SVD . rightists and leftists were united. Since they were parties and had conflicting ideologies they collapse succumbed to it

Then in 1971 Congress Party (the Indian . led by Mrs. Gandhi, felt a necessity of an . reactionary' forces of the country and the vested . alliance with CPI and their coterie. It was a good likemindedness. Congress party at the centre majority and right reactionary forces were route This alliance was not furthered beyond an ide . when vested interest was sought to be . . emergency there was again a stir in the country. trend that had appeared during this period had . to oust the government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi . the Congress (I) was isolated because leftists . travellers) were also displeased by that party and was active like electricity current to do all to . mid-term polls were held in 1977 for the first time the viped out of power and the 'grand alliance' was in o rule the country.

But this alternate had no foundation—it was rather without any basis. They were neither like-minded in the realm of ideology nor had any other basis like that of minimum programme. As a result they could not do anything towards national progress and their internal differences made them shink. All the factions of Janata Party are now separate parties and have been reduced to size after the mid-term to Seventh Lok Sabha in 1980. The Congress (I) has about 2/3 majority in the Lok Sabha and in State assemblies also has got an even position in eight out of nine states.

Though different reasons can be assigned to this change in favour of Congress (I) but within purview of the experiences of democracy in India there are certain undesirable facts that are very significant for the students of political science and others concerned. The first is that in a democratic set-up only those parties can survive which have got a mass base and enjoy popularity, Secondly, people want results and tangible progress. Thirdly, in India there are different parties believing in variety of ideologies belonging to rightist and leftist camps—but none can provide an alternate to it in [illegible] ae socalled [illegible] forge and [illegible] tists there is however, a time [illegible] left party. Because the leftist [illegible] ed by the communist Parties— [illegible] split and apart. The first tw [illegible] they can expand their area o [illegible] union and kisan fronts. The CPML groups are of no political impact so far and have isolated themselves from the Parliamentary life. There are certain other parties like Forward Bloc, RSP, Socialist groups etc. But they are not mass parties and are insignificant. There are, however, grounds and prospects for emergence of leftist parties *vis-a-vis* rightists in the country.

The analysis of the post Seventh Lok Sabha election situation [illegible] by providing [illegible] ondly, leftists [illegible] tical prospects [illegible] present ruling party may be consequential and of far reaching impacts in the development of the country.

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## 38. STABILIZATION OF PRICES OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES

It is the common sense to understand the phenomenon that the price of any commodity in the market is determined by the relative forces of demand and supply. If the supply increases more than

fluctuation in demand during a particular period the price would tend to come down naturally. On the contrary, if the demand of a particular commodity or commodities increases and the supply does not increase proportionately, the price would certainly go up in the natural course. Technically speaking, it is termed as the 'market price'. But in its turn while the supply depends upon the volume of production during a particular period and at the same cost of production, the price of any commodity would tend to fix around cost of production plus the incentive of profit percentage and the cost of transportation and sale/local tax if any. Hence, in the normal course, the price of a commodity increases with the increase in cost of production.

The phenomenon of the price-rise of essential commodities in India however, is subject to a thorough study of the situation. On side of production the prices of raw material and its availability account for its cost. If it has increased currently the price of the commodity would correspondingly rise in the same proportion. The question of price control arises where the margin of profit is sought to be raised 'abruptly' and [illegible] in the cost of production. In [illegible] keen to manipulate rise in p[illegible] most the cases, is 'abrup[illegible] hoarding of stocks and blackmarketing by shortening the volume of supply in the open market. It is also accompanied with tax evasion.

Prices are 'increasing abruptly' since October, 1979 due to political reasons and after Mrs. Indira Gandhi's return to power it has aimed at pressurizing government to extend facilities to the monopoly industrialists and the 'big business'?

It is quite natural under the circumstances that 'procurement prices' of food grain should also be correspondingly increased.

The main task before the government is to control the power crisis so that the production of the agricultural as well as the industrial commodities is not morred. It would also take a time lag—but not much, provided other thing remain the same.

The price situation in India as a whole is perturbed. Being various reasons coming within scope of economics there are also political reasons for it. For example after the change of regime in 1977 the industry and trade had got an opportunity of reorientating themselves and undergo adjustments free of excessive state control. This free adjustment stabilized the producers and the traders on a certain pattern in which the prices of the commodities were being [illegible] 'ative forces' [illegible] e trend had [illegible]

But in the meanwhile, the governmental vigil on the price line and the regulatory and control orders were relaxed and gradually rendered in-effective. When the Janata Government underwent inner struggle and was engrossed in it completely they could not devote themselves towards the national problems, including production and distribution of essential commodities and the 'matters' *inter alia.* As a result when the Morarji Ministry was ousted and caretaker government under Chaudhary Charan Singh resumed office the entire nation was still in a political fervour and the situation of uncertainty prevailed till the mid-term polls results were out.

[illegible] taken place with the political change [illegible] he abrupt trend of price rise due to [illegible] n purview of the present regime to control it all of a sudden. The measures of the days of emergency are not applicable *'ipso facto'* in the new situation as already explained afore.

Though the 'trend' has been checked but the prices have not come down and the unchecked is the price of the sugar in the open market. There are specific reasons for it. That's why the govern- [illegible] aimed at, nor [illegible] but to rein- [illegible] it there is no 'scarcity'. The fear of scarcity is natural due to stock position which is poor as the production has been affected by the shortage of sugarcane production and power crisis. Hence, in case of this commodity the price would not come down before the season of production starts and power position is improved. The import would counter 'scarcity' and its 'chain of effects' on marketing conditions.

This case resembles with the case of vanaspati (vegetable oil) during the last days of emergency. The commodity's cost of production had risen due to one of the imported item as raw material which was supplied by the government on subsidized prices. When this supply was not made available to the manufacturers the prices of vegetable oil could not be controlled.

Among essential commodities however, there is variety of reasons for shooting-up of the prices and government cannot take any abrupt action. The only thing that can be done on part of the government is to check the 'abrupt price rise' by mean of exercising of control in 'keeping proportions' and not allowing any trend that is abrupt in calculation and determination of price. There it comes to check the stock piling and refrain the middle agency (the traders and dealers) from speculation and profiteering. In controlling the marketing also government will have to take stock of the situation afresh before any effective measures. But more or less, the situation would ease gradually.

The main thing that has been causing trouble in this context is the power crisis which has affected production, industrial and agricultural, both at the same time. For crops, the water has been wanting as power to operate tube-wells has been short of need. It has affected yield per acre.

The control of price line starts from the producer or the manufacturer who would display it on the packing. Government will examine the cost of production in the proper manner of all the essential commodities. Then it would decide its course of action to curb the abrupt trend and bring it to the proportion of the actual increase of cost. The measures on part of government would also include ways and means to bring down the cost of production and increase the production of the commodities and restore such conditions as would ensure the even rate of production in different industries.

Regulatory measure to control the traders and vigil on them has been taken up afresh by the government.

The trends are hopeful and it is a matter of the 'necessary time lag' that stabilization of prices could be expected in the due course.

## 39. INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH U.S.S.R.

[illegible] understanding [illegible] ng because of [illegible] nd its role as promoter of world [illegible] practically an ally [illegible] at lessening tensior [illegible]

Indo-Soviet relations can well be understood by certain facts which are very significant in assessment of the respective situation. As a neighbour of India, Soviet Union has influenced this country to a greater extent. For instance, our national leadership, especially Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was very much inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its progress. It may be recalled that Mr. Nehru was ideologically closer to Russia than the western countries and he inspired the system aiming at expropriation of the class antagonism and equitable social justice. This is also the main reason that at a particular stage of Indian National Movement he had organised Congress Socialist Party in the country in a bid to put it on that channel.

After independence of the country, it was natural therefore, that Russian leadership should have sentiments for India. And when

secularism, democracy and socialism were reflected in the constitution and functioning of the political institutions of the country there were solid and mature basis for friendship between the two. Simultaneously, as a member of UN India played very sober and mature role in the world forum which strengthened Soviet position also. Now Soviet Union was not isolated in the UN, India was there to support her moves. Later, when India rose to the level of leadership of non-aligned neutral bloc after Bandung it had its own voice. Soviet Union's objectives could only be realised and visualised by the support and co-operation of India. At a later stage it was felt by USSR that the cause of growth of movement against colonialism and strengthening of democratic movement can well be served by closer understanding between the two countries and it would contribute to enhance prestige of the Soviet Union *vis-a-vis* US and western countries in UN and outside it. With an understanding, between India and Soviet Union, both could expand their influence among newly independent countries of Asia and Africa as well as among the nations that were waging liberation war in their respective countries.

This contributed to the awakening of consciousness in the Afro-Asian countries and their joining in the non-aligned bloc, headed by India.

Indo-Soviet amity and mutual understanding won latters confidence and USSR has always been very firmly using veto on Kashmir issue.

[illegible] and [illegible]. It [illegible] igla- [illegible] itain and France.

India's relations with USSR as ally and supporters of each other in International Affairs have been responsible for emergence of non-aligned movement among Afro-Asian countries where India assumes leadership. It has lessened danger of world war and reduced armament race.

India has won support of USSR in its conflict with China over the border issue. The chapter of Indo-Soviet friendship and bilateral relations is equally significant in the history of world relations.

[illegible] assistance to Bhilai and Bokaro Steel Projects. There are number of agreements for technical and economic co-operation between India

and USSR periodically review of the situation is undertaken by a joint commission of both the countries.

The trade between the two countries is sizeable and Indian goods are familiar in the Soviet Union.

An Indo-Soviet friendship treaty between the two countries was signed to promote mutual relations in all desirable fields in 1973.

The main thing to be remembered is that Russia has never raised objection on India's relations with other countries. In economic field, India has got relations with US, Britain, France, West Germany and a number of other countries but it has caused no hesitation to USSR to co-operate with this country. In steel industry Russian co-operation is the Bhilai and Bokoro Steel Plants, Side by side with West German and British collaboration in other projects is a hard fact to be realized by all concerned.

In atomic energy sphere, [illegible]
reactor from Canada. There was [illegible]
US for supply of enriched Uraniur [illegible]
But after India's Pokharan explosi [illegible]
of the fuel. As a result, India [illegible]
supplying 'hard water' to be used [illegible]
country. There is no stringe to this [illegible]
of the sort.

In production of Mig fighters Russian co-operation is already available.

Recently, India has been co-operating with the Soviet Union in frustrating US designs against Afghanistan in a bid not to allow development of war hysteria in this regime. After revolution in Iran US strategists have been planning to wield influence in any other state of Persial Gulf or in Afghanistan to maintain their balance of power. Pakistan who is now trying to get arms from US to maintain her balance is in a bid to fill the gap created by Iran. As such, this would compel USSR and India both, to oppose it and frustrate US-Pak-China axis. It has called for even greater co-operation between Soviet Union and India.

It can be imagined that mutual co-operation and friendship between the two countries would further grow.

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# 40. IMPROVEMENT OF LAW AND ORDER SITUATION

The law and order situation of any country is a barometer of [illegible] order prob- [illegible] ntains inter- [illegible] a sense of [illegible] ry assumes [illegible] edes due to law and order measures and drive by the police. It subsides and recurs turn by turn. In India therefore, law and order situation has become a problem, varying occasionally in intensity and recurring phenomenon. As such, it needs an approach and action to be dealt with appropriately as a matter of administrative policy.

There are various reasons behind the 'complex' of law and order situation of the country and a comprehensive assessment is very necessary on part of government in process of its effective control.

[illegible] ion [illegible] the [illegible] is [illegible] ass [illegible] th [illegible] ers [illegible] of patronage.

[illegible] tion.

As a result the administration is unable to control the situation [illegible] for the outlaws and miscreants and they assume the form of an organised gang. Gradually they determine an area of their operations side by side with an area of their influence. At an advance stage only the administration comes out to deal with them at higher level.

Encounters take place between outlaws and the armed police personnels. One particular gang is liquidated in this process but again after some time another gang emerges to prominence in the same manner. This goes on in the usual process and as a result the

...ter attaining a sort of
In case of the dacoits of
d Late Shri Jaiprakash
of heart.' But it was not
pursued further due to various reasons.

The very tendency of law-breaking has grown up in this country against

This complex of situation is not the creation of this era—it is quite chronic. During British rule the 'latitude' to this outlaw sect was a bit narrower and administration was tough—while in this era (the post independence era) the latitude to this sect is ample and

is very much of retrospective and adverse effects over the

There are also instances where police in certain cases has sought to assume tougher attitude towards law breakers and criminals. But in the process of prosecution in the court of law it has failed to award punishment to the culprit due to certain flaws. This position has been realized by the government and in Metropolitan cities like Delhi the police has been given greater powers and certain sections of Cr. P.C. have been assigned to A/C and D/C of Police to some extent. But the actual situation has not been affected in the least due to other things remaining the same.

The recent trends of ... rising of
heinous crimes, murders ... criminal
assaults, incidents of theft, ... of arms.
It confirms that there is ... erations to
the problems of law and order control by the government.

Khausen, Deoli, Phoolan Devi,



The improvement in the situation calls for an expert assessment of the same and it has many aspects to be taken into consideration. ...ce ...is ...nd

...rcion should not be allowed to refrain ...tion whether preventive or incidental ... Police should not be made subservient to political ends either by ruling party or the opposition.

If the anti-social element is not supported and protected by political leaders and workers and they agree to be on the lookout against any complacency of the local police and administration, there is no room for their survival any longer.

## 41. PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

India is a vast democratic country and its administrative ...

It is more important in view of the attitude of the administrative officers which is indifferent to the objectives of the national policy. Their indifference to the objectives of national policy on one hand and their apathy to the public on the other has extinguished sense of duty from the bulk of the administrative personnels. Now they are ...r own selfish motives. ...orthwhile acts. They ... power. It is rather ... are not as sincere and considerate to the national government as they have been to the Britishers.

Present position of the 'bulk of public administrative machinery' is that they are the sole media of implementation of state policies on which the betterment of the Indian people depends solely. But they are not cooperative and sympathetic towards this objective. They take their own time and comply their own routine and procedure without any consideration for time. As a result the governmental policy and schemes related to public interest are not implemented in time and welfare of the nation is always at stake. Where people are so keen and concerned and they take to pursue it for sake of their individual or group interest they seduce and attract the officers concerned and get it done, otherwise there is none to look into the matter objectively.

we know the main obstacle in the way of national interest is the 'vested interest' which is in conflict with the former.

dragged
corrupted
t parties.

Consequently, the pace of ... stran-
ding. No national sch ... yond a
certain limit. In case ext ... lemen-
tation of any programme it is torpedoed through bureaucracy and the lobbies in political parties and their functionaries. This sort of

bureaucracy ... and the public
infiltration in

This grand alliance did all to reverse the situation and all business

STRANDING –

Alliance –

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any effective action to serve the national cause.

The problems

farious. There is la

servants. Then the

because of sluggishn

work in a tight schedule and keep pending the disposal of work. Secondly, because it is within purview of delaying tactics which is as a matter of corrupt practice. Thirdly, the red-tapism is universal phenomenon and it is perpetuated because there is no check to it 'methodically'.

The most intricate problem of public administration is want of integrity of its officers with the government. When the administrative machinery of the government is not sympathetic towards government and is not duty conscious how it can be helpful to government in scheduled implementation of its policy and programme to the betterment of the nation.

Finally, a sort of trade unionism has crept into the administrative machinery at all levels and even the Home Services are not spared of it. This state of affair is very serious and it may put at stake all our endeavours in the way of national progress on one hand and may jeopardise national security on the other.

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Morarji Desai (former Prime Minister) are on record. This committee was appointed years ago but practically nothing could be done even during the tenure of Mr. Morarji Desai.

Now, there is a need of fresh considerations over the issue and multi-dimensional formula is required to solve the problems.

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Methodically —

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## 42. IMPORTANCE OF 20-POINT ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

This package programme is a reminiscence of past which was prepared to combat such evils that were responsible for degeneration of the living conditions of the common people and their sheer exploitation by the 'vested interest'. Prime Minister Mrs. *Indira* Gandhi had realized the hard facts that the entire business community,
rch of
black-
city of
consumer goods. Prices of all essential commodities were soaring high. Against this background steps were taken by the government to bring the situation under control and afford immediate relief to the common people. It was a very bold and forthright action on
I interest
he had
America,
degenerated after the world war.

Attempts were made to set the things right through this programme, by the Government of India. But as this 'operation' entered the advance stages the exploiters entered into an 'unholy *alliance*' to remove Mrs. Indira Gandhi from the power at a higher *level*. The conspiracy was so deep rooted that infiltrators and *saboteurs* had

judge it from the fact that originally when it was taken up in 1975, it had produced effective results in bringing down the prices of essential commodities in the open market, discouraging hoarding of stocks, speculation in commodities, adulteration of food products and had, above all, promoted discipline among traders and consumers.

The very fact that this programme had hard hit the vested interest, exploiters and bloodsuckers, is evident from the conspiracy that had been hatched to engineer its wreckage. In the third place it is important because the current situation more vehemently calls for a crusador on part of Union government to combat the evil and mischief of the blind poppies in socio-economic spheres.

In this connection however, it may be noted that first the 20-point programme should be reshaped in view of the stresses accommodating [illegible] together. Casteism, communalism a[illegible] are again raising their heads and need [illegible] ...ng the situation under control.

[illegible] this programme i[illegible] [illegible] implement it, in the [illegible] machinery. Though [illegible] ...e overhaul but for the time being such a method will have to be elaborated that manipulation on part of corrupt bureaucracy could be checked then and there. A new and effective surveillance and vigilance system for the purpose is a pre-requisite for the same. The working of the programme and its progress at different levels will have to be reviewed periodically and party politics will have to kept away from it in all stages of its implementation.

The 20-point programme originally adopted in 1975 included reduction of prices, land ceilings and redistribution of land, housing sites in rural areas, abolition, of bonded labour, liquidation of rural indebtedness, minimum wages for agricultural labour, better irrigation facilities, more power for enhancement of production, encouragement to develop handloom sector, cheaper cloth of coarse/medium grade, socialization of urban land, a[illegible] accompanying punishment for [illegible] property and unaccounted mo[illegible] income tax relief to the midd[illegible] on controlled price to lower income—people/students etc. increased employment opportunities and greater facilities to students in respect of text books etc.

In course of reappraisal of the current situation in context of above programme stresses will have to be made afresh for bringin[illegible]

Manipulation of ...yment schemes for ... job will assume priority over other in operational respect.

The last thing to be remembered is that this programme must be sought to be implemented within the existing frame of law as far as practicable. In case there is any compulsion in respect thereof amendment in constitution can be made to enact new laws, necessary to deal with the economic offenders.

# APPENDIX

## HOW TO WRITE AN ESSAY

It is a problem common to almost all the sections of literate and even educated persons as 'how to write an essay' on any given topic. The main reason for it is that essay writing is an art and it requires a particular technique of narration to put the knowledge that is already in one's store. Beside this 'technique' it also requires exercise—*i.e.*, the practice of narration on specific topics. So in this way essay writing requires not only the knowledge of the subject and the manner of its presentation but also a flair of writing which is acquired by means of practice. That is why those persons who have been practising this art can write any essay better than those whose store of knowledge is comparatively vast but have lesser or no practice of writing essa[illegible] subject related to the given o[illegible] essay can be written if the [illegible] treatment to it and is able to [illegible] the way of writing assumes [illegible] of the knowledge of the pa[illegible] the latter is the primary requirement and we cannot attempt any essay without knowledge of the particular subject.

**The criterion to examine an essay**—As pointed out above, the criterion to examine an essay in general English is to judge the method of writing from technical point of view and see that there is relevance in the contents of the matter and compactness of narration. Examiner would judge the standard of writing by the correctness of language, vocabulary and style and will satisfy himself about writer's power of expression. It is not as much the knowledge of the writer but art of putting it in a comprehensive and impression manner that is counted in judging the standard of an essay.

**Essay and standard of knowledge**—The standard of knowledge of the two persons on the same topic differs. Two persons may choose to write on a particular subject but would have different approach or point of view about the same. Suppose the topic is related to the subject of Economics and one of the two candidates is a scholar of that subject he would deal it at that standard and the other who is not a student of Economics but of some other social science and has chosen it to write he will have a general approach

and will make an attempt from a different angle. The examiner will be impressed to see that whatever the knowledge of facts the writer had he had presented it comprehensively and in a proper manner.

Writer should be very careful in using the terminology of the particular subject to convey the proper sense and in case he is not conversant with any particular 'term' better he should avoid it and express himself in an alternate way. Again, the main emphasis goes to the correctness of the language relevance of the sense sought to be conveyed.

*Candidates to competitive examinations are expected to possess knowledge of various subjects and events within purview of general knowledge. All of them are neither scholars of Economics or Political Science nor of Physics and Geology but know about the events and their significance in general term as reader of newspaper etc., within bounds and spheres of general knowledge. As such the standard of evaluation of an essay in general knowledge is not the expertise knowledge of the subject dealt with but of the general knowledge and its presentation in comprehensive and relevant manner.*

***The choice of the topic***—*Select the topic of your interest* which you can express your views in a balanced way with your own approach about the same.

**The beginning** should be very *impressive* and *the reader/* examiner should be able to understand and note your approach or the view with which you are proceeding to write your essay. The language should be simple and correct and construction of sentences and paragraphs be easy and integrated.

**Expand your knowledge evenly** and in a balanced way and relevant to the topic of the essay and your approach to it at the very outset of the essay.

**While coming towards conclusion,** care should be taken in summing up what you have already said conforming to your approach point of view at the very outset of the essay. You may repeat *your point of stress also in conclusion if you feel it would* provide further relevance and or would carry weight to your point of view.

***Parts of an essay***—*Whatever the topic may be technically* speaking it is divisible into three parts :

(*i*) *Introduction*—This is opening of the essay and is meant for the approach and point of view of the writer which he wants to

stress. It should be very smartly written because the reader/examiner will get his first impression from this part. This is rather foundation of the essay. It should consist of one average and compact paragraph only.

(*ii*) *The rear and structure*—Technically speaking it is the 'spreadover' of the point of view stressed in the introduction. Some people also call it 'body' of the essay because like any human body it has a rear around which the body is built and both are inseparable. But there should be a strong and healthy rear which could bear the bulk and weight of the body. It means that the points related to [illegible] ntly [illegible] iter. [illegible] best [illegible]

(*iii*) *The Conclusion*—After explanation of all the points connected with your theme/approach or angle of view in the rear sum up the main contention to establish it. It is also a subsequent opportunity to restress your point. This part also should normally consist of one compact and impressive paragraph. It may by equal in length to the paragraph of 'introduction', shorter or lengthier according to the need.

But it should also be noted that entire essay should be integrated and relevant to the topic. So that it is quite comprehensive for the reader/examiner.

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